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Training Resources for Youth, Incorporated (TRY) was formed as an independent membership corporation under the laws of New York State to conduct a demonstration training center for out-of-school, out-of-work, or underemployed male youth, age 17 through 21. The basic goals were to develop sound methods and techniques for producing positive changes in the attitudes and behaviors of deprived youth, and to provide an educational environment in which youth could learn the necessary vocational, personal, and social skills. Of the 544 trainees who were enrolled in the TRY project, the results show that 48 percent graduated, 45 percent dropped out or were discharged, and 7 percent terminated for reasons not related to the project. A followup study of TRY graduates shows that 12 percent went to college, 76 percent were placed in training-related jobs, 7 percent went to the armed forces, 4 percent were placed in nontraining-related jobs, and 1 percent went on to other training programs. The mean starting pay for all placed graduates was $82.00 per week or $4,264 per year. (CH)

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1 THE TRY PROJECT: A DEMONSTRATION OF A COMPREHENSIVE EDUCATIONAL MODEL FOR DISADVANTAGED YOUTH. Final Report.]

2
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New York, New York

February, 1969

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U.S. DEPARTMENT OF
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4* Office of Education (DHEW), Washington, D.C.]
Bureau of Research

PREFACE

Purposes Of This Report

This report has four major purposes. The first is to present the Training Resources for Youth (TRY) comprehensive educational model for training disadvantaged youth together with its undergirding theory and premises (see Chapters One and Two).

The second purpose is to provide a developmental history of a demonstration-research project from the conception of the idea until it is in full operation. Few reports contain this type of information, yet without such developmental information it is extremely difficult to bring into focus those critical factors in demonstration research projects which can be changed to produce better results. The developmental history of the TRY Project is presented in Chapter Three and the major conclusions drawn from this experience are integrated into the recommendations found in Chapter Five.

The third, is to present the research data gathered from the first year of the program together with conclusions which can be drawn from it. The detailed data is presented in Chapter Four and a summary of the findings is present in Section C of Chapter Five.

The final purpose of this report is to present the results of the demonstration together with a series of recommendations which grew out of the total TRY project experience. These results and recommendations are found in Chapter Five.

Acknowledgements

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February, 1969

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CHAPTER ONE

THE PROBLEMS ON WHICH TRY WAS FOCUSED

A. The Problem of the Disadvantaged in Relation to the Total Society
B. The Bedford-Stuyvesant Community
C. The Educational Problem
D. Program Concepts
E. The Research Problem
F. The Flexible Responsible Institution

A. THE PROBLEM OF THE DISADVANTAGED IN RELATION TO THE TOTAL SOCIETY

Social Unity And Equal Opportunity

Social unity and equal opportunity stand among the highest of our national values, but in this current period the urgent need to greatly extend both objectives simultaneously has put tremendous pressure on our total society with the danger that neither goal will be accomplished. Equal opportunity for the disadvantaged is essential to increasing our social unity, but progress in this area challenges the majority and the cohesiveness of the existing social system. It is one of the major tasks of leadership to promote both of these goals concurrently and find ways of providing quick and accurate feedback of information to the total society. It is the task of the social sciences to develop and test out a variety of programs to simultaneously enhance both of these goals.

The TRY Project Development staff felt deeply that programs could be designed which would foster both of these goals. The staff was also aware of the strong conflicts with which programs working in this area would have to deal. Nevertheless, the staff and the Board associated with the project were thoroughly committed to wrestle with this major issue and to design a program which would be a real ladder of opportunity for disadvantaged youth and, at the same time, provide a better basis of understanding and involvement on the part of the larger society.

The Need For A Comprehensive Strategy

The previous experience of the TRY Development staff members in a variety of social change, educational, and anti-poverty programs gave us a strong and united conviction that a comprehensive strategy was essential if we were to have even a modest opportunity to produce some positive change. First of all, it was strongly felt that a developmental approach was essential. It is critical for all learning and for most significant changes that the first experience prepares one for the next and that the first and second together contribute to the success of the third. This development concept was central in our overall design strategy. Our second basic concept was to build in short-term as well as long-term payoffs in every aspect of the program. This was a simple recognition of the experience of most programs that a significant number of trainees are unable to complete programs for a wide variety of reasons and also a recognition that persons should be able to utilize what they have learned in a variety of ways before they leave the program. Indeed, our goal was to foster the practice of skills learned in training, in every way that we could to reinforce the learning. The third basic concept in our strategy was to select disadvantaged male youth in late adolescence as the group to work with because we felt that they presented the best point of leverage to break the recurring cycle of poverty which grips a significant portion of the population. We believed that if we could reach and train 500 young men each year for five years that we would have a significant impact on one-fourth to one-third of the unemployed high school dropouts in one of the largest disadvantaged areas in the United States. Furthermore, since this group would be in this same time period the fathers of a significant number of children, we felt that we could generate a second project which would deal with the family life of the children of TRY graduates and thus produce multiple gains in the family, community, and economic development of Bedford-Stuyvesant. The fourth concept in our strategy was to build bridges to the more permanent institutions in the community and to those institutions outside the community that affected it in order to maximize the gains made by the young men in the program. In particular, we hoped to focus upon the schools and teacher training institutions, businesses which might be developed in the community, social services in the area, the police and the churches. The fifth major concept in our strategy was to provide for evaluation and feedback of information to as many levels as possible both within and outside the project. We were well aware that program evaluation and feedback systems were in their infancy compared, for example, with the techniques of financial analysis and feedback. We planned to develop a system in the program area which would at least provide for program data reporting and hopefully would also provide an analysis system as a basis for recommending changes in program promptly and efficiently.

The Need For Tested Alternatives

The importance of building social unity and equal opportunity is even more critical today than it was in the early 1960s, yet we are still suffering from a serious lack of tested ideas in dealing with the real problems in this vital area. A great many ideas have been suggested but a relatively few have been tried and only a pitiful handful have been vigorously tested. Only by vigorous testing can we find effective ways to achieve our goals.

The need for demonstration-research programs is still critically important. It was precisely because the United States made the investment of concentrated time and effort to explode the atom, that we now have ways of dealing with the problems of the future. By concentrating the necessary resources through research and development efforts on our current social and educational problems, perhaps this country could find a better future for all her people.

The TRY Development staff was acutely aware of the piece-meal and short-range approach to the social and educational problems of the disadvantaged. It was precisely because of this that we fought so hard for a comprehensive program and adequate funds for development and research.

We also strongly believed that there should be at least three to five other comprehensive efforts undertaken across the country which would test out other alternative approaches. An investment of 10 to 20 million dollars per year over a five year period, we believed, could produce a series of major breakthroughs which would greatly improve our ability to meet the crucial problems of the disadvantaged in our society.

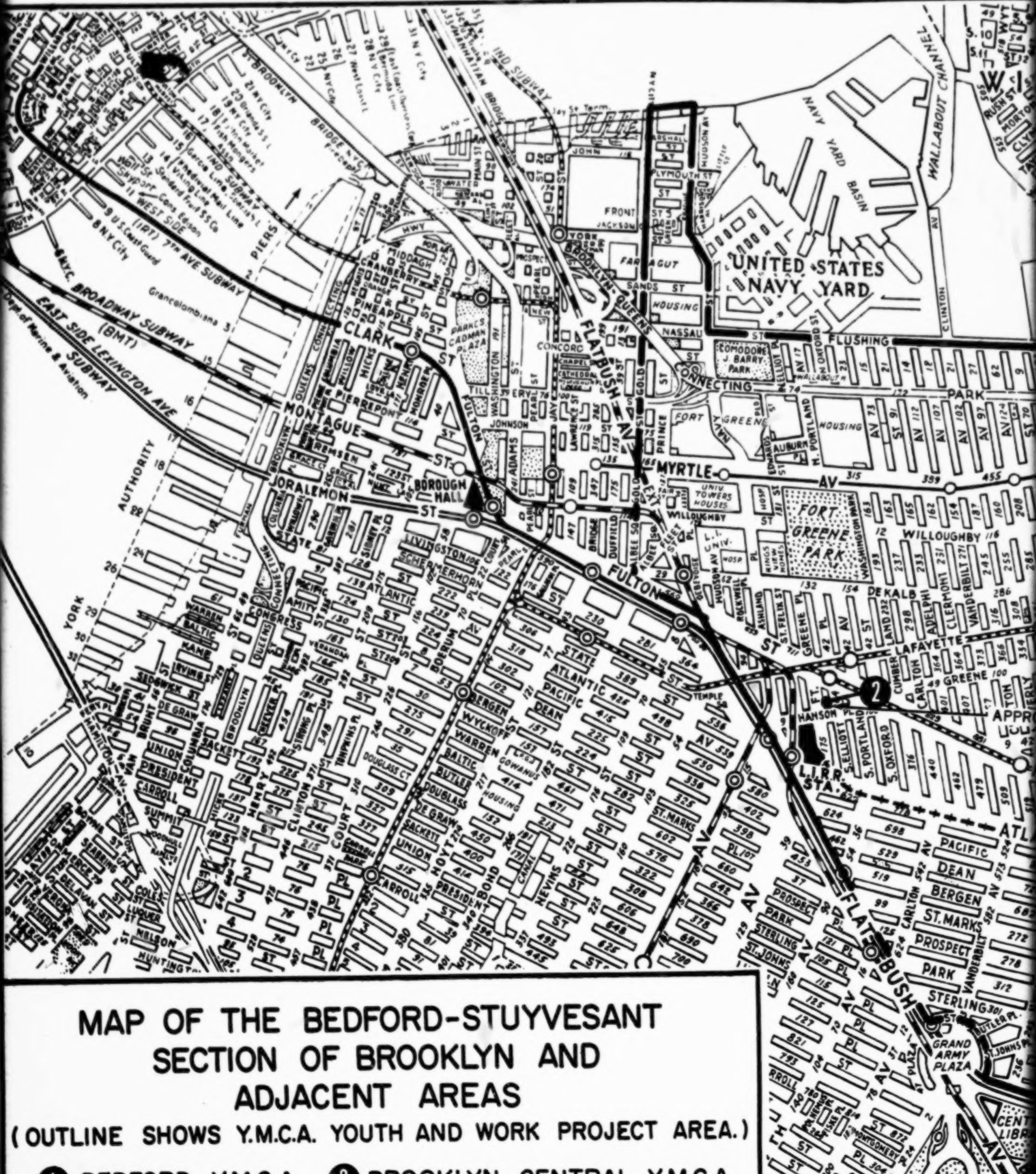
The remainder of this chapter deals with the specific problems upon which the TRY project was focused and with which it wrestled. It is all tied together by the central conviction that our society can best help itself by finding effective solutions to the problems of the disadvantaged.

B. THE BEDFORD-STUYVESANT COMMUNITY

The Brooklyn community of Bedford-Stuyvesant is the most depressed area in the New York metropolitan region. Stretching across the heart of Brooklyn, it is a loosely defined area, larger than Harlem, with more than a quarter of a million people, 75 percent Negro and 10 percent Puerto Rican. The nature of the economic, political, educational and social aspects of the problems of poverty are well documented, (Harrington, 1963, Gordon, 1966). These problems are particularly acute in Bedford-Stuyvesant, the largest urban Negro community in the North. It is an area characterized by high population density, high rates of unemployment, deteriorating housing, overcrowded schools with insufficient staff, a high rate of school dropouts, broken families, poor health and an alarmingly high incidence of social pathologies such as juvenile crime, dope addiction, alcoholism and mental illness. As of April, 1964, seventeen percent of Bedford-Stuyvesant residents were on welfare. With less than four percent of the total population of the city, the community accounts for more than eleven percent of its total welfare population. Nearly 50 percent of its families must be classified as poverty-stricken. Ironically, with the rapid shifts in population in the past two decades, which increased the severity of community problems, fewer organizations and services providing leadership and community cohesiveness remained. Therefore, in order to begin to deal effectively with these critical social problems, older established social institutions must be rejuvenated and newer ones created to implement carefully coordinated and comprehensive programs.

Youth Population

Bedford-Stuyvesant has approximately 27,000 youth aged 17-21 and it is estimated that half the youth in this age bracket are both out-of-school and out-of-work. Moreover, the unskilled and semi-skilled jobs, the only jobs most of these youths could qualify for, are in steady decline in the New York City area. With narrowing job prospects, leaving school early is economic suicide. Unless these young people, cast off by the educational system, obtain jobs or training to enable their attaining skilled positions, the public will pay for their support and social alienation.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MAP OF THE BEDFORD-STUYVESANT SECTION OF BROOKLYN AND ADJACENT AREAS

(OUTLINE SHOWS Y.M.C.A. YOUTH AND WORK PROJECT AREA.)

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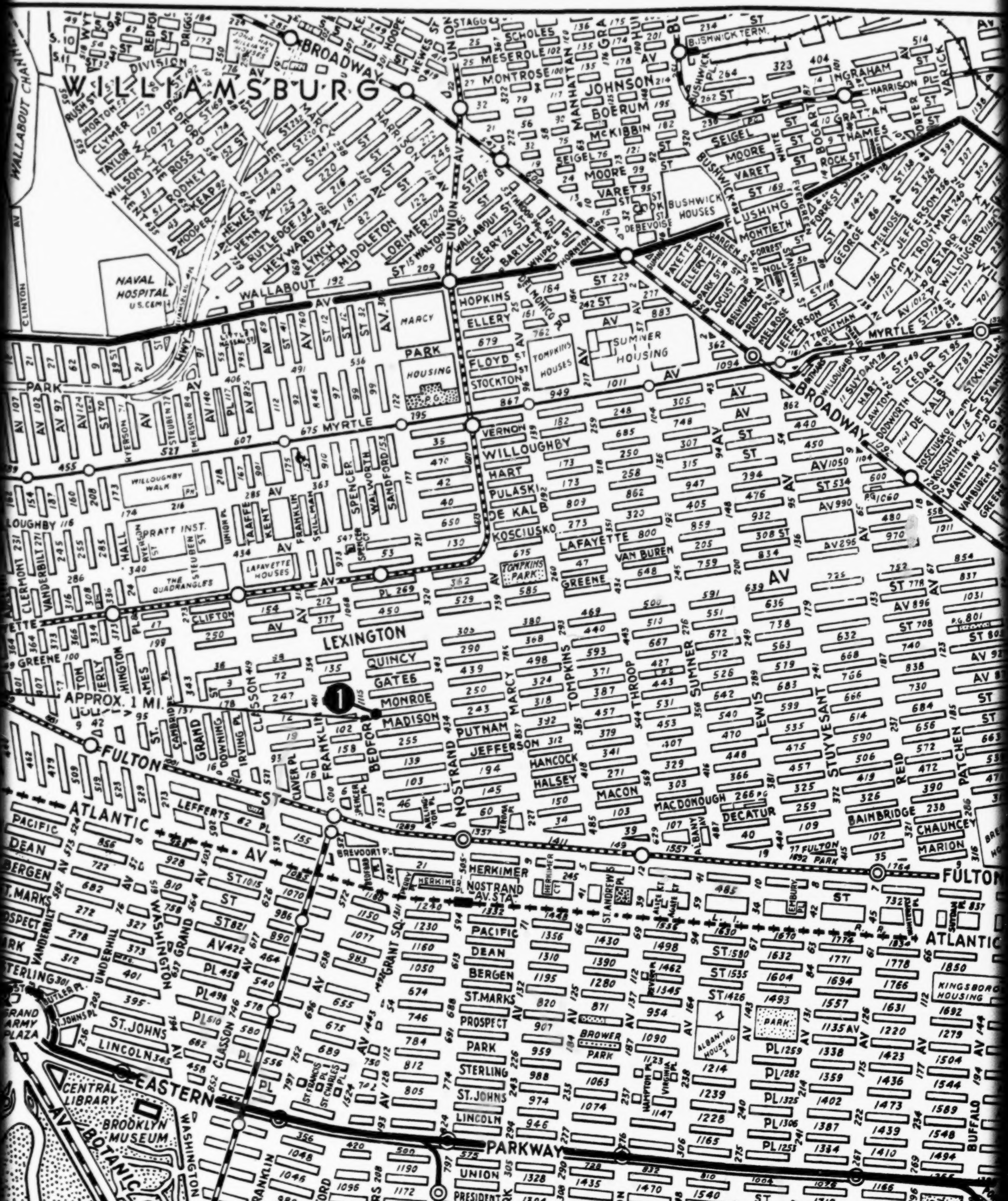
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DIVISION
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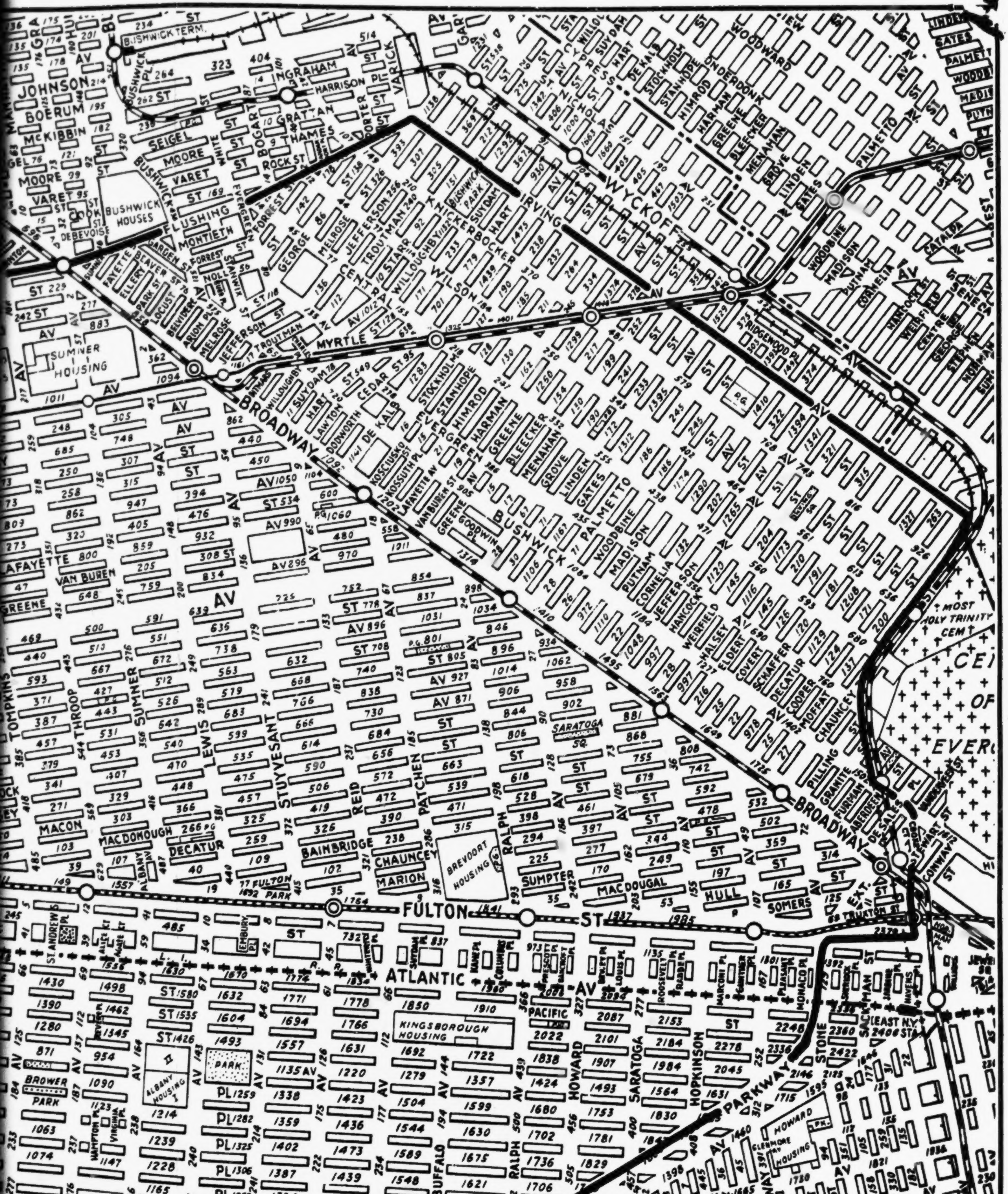
NAVAL HOSPITAL U.S. CEM.
BUSHWICK HOUSES
MARCY PARK HOUSING
TOMPKINS HOUSES
SUMNER HOUSING
WILLOUGHBY WALK
PRATT INST.
THE QUADRANGLES
LAFAYETTE HOUSES
TOMPKINS PARK
APPROX. 1 MI.
①
SCHOLES
MESEROLE
MONTROSE
JOHNSON
BOERUM
McKIBBIN
SEIGEL
MOORE
VARET
FLUSHING
WALLABOUT
PARK
MYRTLE
WILLOUGHBY
HART
PULASKI
DE KALB
KOSCIUSKO
LAFAYETTE
VAN BUREN
GREENE
LEXINGTON
QUINCY
GATES
MONROE
MADISON
PUTNAM
JEFFERSON
HANCOCK
HALSEY
MACON
MACDONOUGH
DECATUR
BAINBRIDGE
CHAUNCEY
MARION
FULTON
ATLANTIC
HERKIMER
NOSTRAND AV. STA.
PACIFIC
DEAN
BERGEN
ST. MARKS
PROSPECT
PARK
STERLING
ST. JOHNS
LINCOLN
EASTERN PARKWAY
UNION
PRESIDENT
CARROLL
CROWN
NOSTRAND
TOMPKINS
THROOP
SUMNER
LEWIS
STUYVESANT
REID
PATCHEN
MARCY
BEDFORD
FRANKLIN
CLASSON
WASHINGTON
VANDERBILT
GRAND ARMY PLAZA
CENTRAL LIBRARY
BROOKLYN MUSEUM
BOTANIC GARDEN
BROWER PARK
ALBANY HOUSING
KINGSBORO HOUSING
S. SOMERS MEMORIAL PARK
LINCOLN TER. PARK
ROGERS
KINGSTON
ALBANY
TROY
SCHENECTADY
UTICA
ROCHESTER
BUFFALO


BUSHWICK TERM.
JOHNSON
BOERUM
McKIBBIN
MOORE
VARET
DEBEVOISE
BUSHWICK HOUSES
BUSHWICK PL
INGRAHAM
HARRISON PL
SEIGEL
GRATTAN
THAMES
BOGART
WHITE
PORTER
VARICK
ROCK ST
FLUSHING
MONTIETH
FORREST
NOLL
GEORGE
MELROSE
JEFFERSON
TROUTMAN
STARR
WILLOUGHBY
KNICKERBOCKER
HART
IRVING
WYCKOFF
SUYDAM
BUSHWICK PARK
WILSON
DE KALB
STOCKHOLM
STANHOPE
HIMROD
HARMAN
GREENE
BLEECKER
MENAHAN
GROVE
LINDEN
GATES
WOODBINE
MADISON
PUTNAM
CORNELIA
PALMETTO
ONDERDONK
WOODWARD
RIDGEWOOD PL
HANCOCK
WEIRFIELD
CENTRE
GEORGE
SENECA
CYPRESS
CATALPA
NORMAN
SUMNER HOUSING
MYRTLE
AV
ELLERY
FAYETTE
BEAVER
PARK
LOCUST
BELVIDERE
ARION PL
BROADWAY
SUYDAM
HART
LAWTON
DODWORTH
CEDAR
KOSCIUSKO
KOSSUTH PL
LAFAYETTE AV
VAN BUREN ST
GOODWIN PL
BUSHWICK
HALSEY
ELDERT
COVERT
SCHAEFFER
DECATUR
COOPER
MOFFAT
CHAUNCEY
PILLING
GRANITE
FURMAN
ABERDEEN
DE SALES
STEWART
CONWAY
MOST HOLY TRINITY CEM
CEM. OF THE EVERGREENS
TOMPKINS
THROOP
SUMNER
LEWIS
STUYVESANT
REID
PATCHEN
RALPH
LAFAYETTE
VAN BUREN
GREENE
MACON
MACDONOUGH
DECATUR
BAINBRIDGE
CHAUNCEY
MARION
BREVOORT HOUSING
SUMPTER
MACDOUGAL
HULL
SOMERS
SARATOGA SQ.
ALBANY AV
FULTON PARK
FULTON
ST
TRUXTON ST
ST. ANDREWS PL
ATLANTIC
AV
PACIFIC
KINGSBOROUGH HOUSING
HOWARD
SARATOGA
HOPKINSON
STONE
SACKMAN
EAST N.Y. STA.
ALBANY HOUSING
PARK
BROWER PARK
HAMPTON PL
VIRGINIA PL
BUFFALO
PL
PARKWAY
HOWARD HOUSING
GLENMORE AV
PITKIN
ROCKAWAY
SUTTER
BELMONT
BROWNSVILLE
EASTERN
NEW YORK
ZION PARK
UNION ST
LINCOLN TER. PARK
S. SOMERS MEMORIAL PARK
PORTAL
ROCHESTER
UTICA
SCHENECTADY
TROY
ALBANY
KINGSTON
BROOKLYN
E HOUSING
LINDEN
GATES
PALMETTO
WOODBINE
MADISON
PUTNAM

Delinquency

The influences of this environment are seen in the young people of the community. Their educational motivation and achievements are considerably lower than those of youth from other neighborhoods. The high incidence of juvenile delinquency in Bedford-Stuyvesant reflects an increase in restlessness and hostility among these youth. In 1963, the juvenile delinquency rate was 128.9 per thousand, a figure higher than Harlem's (116.8) and twice that of the city. Sixteen percent of all narcotics arrests in 1963 took place in Bedford-Stuyvesant.

Urban Civil Disorders

The FBI report on the riots in Bedford-Stuyvesant during the summer of 1964 adds a vital footnote to the above facts. After investigation, it was concluded that the majority of participants in these riots were teenagers, most of whom were unemployed high school drop-outs with nothing better to do. As happened in other parts of the nation, a spontaneous outburst of physical violence in response to a growing frustration with social conditions was directed against the established forms of authority which seem to contain the Negro in the present urban environment.

The Kerner Report on Civil Disorders also focuses on the critical importance of this group. The report's profile of the typical rioter is quoted in full here because it is so descriptive of the youth who entered the TRY project.

> "The typical rioter in the summer of 1967 was a Negro, unmarried male between the ages of 15 and 24 in many ways very different from the stereotypes. He was not a migrant. He was born in the state and was a life-long resident of the city in which the riot took place. Economically his position was about the same as his Negro neighbors who did not actively participate in the riot.
>
> Although he had not, usually, graduated from high school, he was somewhat better educated than the average inner-city Negro, having at least attended high school for a time.

> Nevertheless, he was more likely to be working in a menial or low status job as an unskilled laborer. If he was employed, he was not working full time and his employment was frequently interrupted by periods of unemployment.
>
> He feels strongly that he deserves a better job and that he is barred from achieving it, not because of lack of training, ability, or ambition, but because of discrimination by employers.
>
> He rejects the white bigot's stereotype of the Negro as ignorant and shiftless. He takes great pride in his race and believes that in some respects Negroes are superior to whites. He is extremely hostile to whites, but his hostility is more apt to be a product of social and economic class than of race; he is almost equally hostile toward middle-class Negroes.
>
> He is substantially better informed about politics than Negroes who were not involved in the riots. He is more likely to be actively engaged in civil rights efforts, but is extremely distrustful of the political system and of political leaders."

The Needs of the Community

The previous section indicated the scope of the critical economic, educational, and social aspects of poverty in Bedford-Stuyvesant. During the period from 1940-1965, the white middle-class residents of Bedford-Stuyvesant moved to Long Island suburbs and surrounding areas. The effect of this emigration was a loss to the community cohesiveness and played a part in ensuring that a high quality of community services, schools, law enforcement, sanitation, property maintenance, health and welfare services was maintained.

Perhaps the most crucial need which has become apparent in recent years, is the necessity to work out organizational structures which actively and democratically involve the poor in decision-making and which develop short and long-range plans for the area. Among the most immediate community needs are: large-scale rehabilitation of housing, the development of local industry and job opportunities.

the improvement of schools and their programs, new programs for pre-school children, programs for unwed mothers, training programs for out-of-school and out-of-work adolescent youth, family counseling, health and legal services, programs for upgrading and retraining technologically unemployed adult workers, child care clinics, increased mental health services, community action programs, increased recreational and cultural facilities, and many others.

C. THE EDUCATIONAL PROBLEM

As Conant, Mayer, Reissman, and others have noted, the American school is designed by the middle class for the middle class. Its curriculum, its teaching methods, its schedules, its auxiliary services, and its system of rewards and punishments reflect these middle-class origins and generally are not relevant to the needs of lower socio-economic groups. The majority of middle-class students have abundant resources in their homes and families, and in peer group relationships, which provide the necessary social support for learning. There has been a tendency to ignore the fact that the mere imparting of knowledge, in the absence of such resources, does not succeed in bringing about the full development of students. Moreover, the content of the curriculum is often unrelated to the myriad of objective problems which disadvantaged youth in particular must confront. While the schools have reflected and supported the traditional optimistic American view that education is the key to human development and social mobility, their failure to devise adequate educational solutions for culturally deprived individuals is the greatest single cause of the large drop-out population. The sheer numbers of urban school drop-outs has created a pessimism among American educators. The inability to meet the special needs of culturally disadvantaged children tends to undermine the very purposes for which the American educational enterprise was created. Inevitably, schools in depressed areas do become a dumping ground for many of the unsolved problems of society. Recognizing this fact, it is becoming increasingly apparent that education must involve more than the imparting of knowledge. For without adapting to the pressing psychological needs of students it becomes impossible even to impart the minimal knowledge and skills desperately needed by the disadvantaged for fuller participation in society. There is at present a ferment in educational circles and a healthy re-examination of the basic assumptions about education in terms of the curriculum, the teaching techniques, and even the purposes of the schools. This ferment is producing experiments in many quarters which range from new methods for overcoming the cognitive deprivation of preschool children, to new ways in which work and school can be combined. Because these efforts have only recently begun, it is difficult to evaluate their efficacy. While these seeds of reform will undoubtedly produce blueprints for important and necessary changes in education, particularly for the disadvantaged, it remains to be seen whether bureaucratic school structures which have in the past discouraged and resisted innovation,will adopt them.

The World of the Disadvantaged Adolescent

If this period is difficult for middle-class adolescents who do, after all, live in relatively stable environments where many supports are available, it is even more so for the deprived adolescent, living as he does in a rapidly changing, undependable, and impoverished environment. In the middle-class environment, the adolescent's experiments with life styles are generally supported by educated and sympathetic parents, interested and accepting teachers, and an environment which is full of alternatives, satisfactions, and supports. The disadvantaged adolescent, however, has available to him only extremely limited alternatives. He receives little direction or support from his home, his school, and the social institutions that surround him. Frequently his experimentation leads him into anti-social and even criminal acts, these being very often the only alternatives open to him or recognized among his peers. The disadvantaged adolescent growing up in a punishing and impoverished environment has evolved a precariously maintained life style which is characterized by poor control, exaggerated masculinity, cynicism, suspiciousness of others, a posture of passive aloofness, and low self-esteem. He is impelled increasingly to express his identity in anti-social and self-defeating acts.

The reinforcements he has experienced have been for the most part punishments rather than rewards. His life style is therefore understandably directed more toward minimizing painful experience than toward maximizing satisfactions. Perceiving no alternative ways of behaving, the deprived adolescent is destined to repeat continually his familiar maladaptive patterns. In this condition he lacks the fundamental basis for choice and freedom. As an impotent individual in a depressed community, he has not developed the capacity to effectively mediate and evaluate his experiences and to assume personal responsibility for his actions. Lacking this, he is more likely to be acted upon than to act, and to respond to the acts of others than to initiate acts of his own. As a result he is less likely to appreciate the intimate relationship between his own actions and the consequences that ensue. He is often unaware of the thoughts and feelings that direct his actions. He is, therefore, less capable of gaining the necessary perspective to modify his behavior.

The Adolescent in the Ghetto

If steering one's way through adolescence successfully is a problem for the middle-class individual, it is even more difficult to achieve for the deprived individual. It is quite accurate to say that for the unfortunate adolescent who suffers from racial prejudice as well as deprivation and social rejection it is an agony and a frustration. For the deprived Negro adolescent, the problem of identity becomes perhaps the most critical issue that he must confront. He often reflects, in his view of himself, the lesson that generations of Negroes have learned from the larger society: namely, that to be black is to be considered inferior and therefore not worthy of participating fully in the freedom enjoyed by the rest of society. In his own lifetime, these lessons have been constantly reinforced in his contact with whites and through the messages of the various media. The tragic effect of these myths is that Negroes (particularly those from lower socio-economic groups) have in many instances tacitly accepted this evaluation. Being judged by externals, some Negroes have tended to place inordinate value upon external symbols, such as impeccable dress, light skin, straight hair, fast cars, and a variety of other material indicators of status, which ironically become the means of discrimination against one Negro by another. For these reasons the Negro sub-culture often lacks the cohesiveness that characterizes other ethnic sub-cultures.

But perhaps the root of the problem for the culturally deprived male Negro adolescent lies in the family structure so often encountered in the Negro ghetto. The heritage of the forced dissolution of families under slavery was perpetuated by social and economic factors. Denied his rightful role as breadwinner and citizen, the adult Negro male could not very well assume the role of a responsible middle-class father and husband. In the majority of deprived Negro homes, the mother is the mainstay of the family because the father is either physically not present or, when present, tends to reflect in his own behavior and attitude the negative identity that society has given him. The young child, particularly the male child growing up in such an environment, is even further deprived by the absence of a strong male figure with whom he can identify and learn traditional male adult roles. Having to serve both as mother and father, without the ordinary checks and balances which are possible when both parents are present, the Negro mother often dominates her children or becomes so over-solicitous about their welfare that the normal trial and error process so common in children is discouraged. The result is that, for both the male and female child, seeds are sown for a life of limited aspirations, anxiety, passivity, or rebellion.

The self-image of disadvantaged youth range from the incomplete and unsatisfying images frequently created in the type of family situation noted above, to the assertive, "Black Is Beautiful" image which a significant number of ghetto youth exhibit today. The individual whose self-image is unsatisfying and who is struggling hard to maintain himself is frequently robbed of his strength and hope. The more aggressive youth, while psychologically healthier, is more likely to come into conflict with school authorities or employers and thus experience a different road to self-realization. One of the goals of a project must be to deal with the development of a wide range of self-concepts and to help each youth minimize negative experiences and consider how he might maximize positive ones.

Forces For Change

In America, in the last 10 years, the emergence of an effective civil rights movement dominated by Negroes, a national awareness of the problems of poverty, and an increasing determination on the part of the Negro to run his own communities, schools, and businesses, suggests that there is a broadly based demand for change. The prominent role played by male Negroes in providing leadership to the American civil rights movement and the emergence of African nations on the international scene have raised the hopes and aspirations of and provided a new model for the younger generation of Negro Americans.

This is particularly significant for the Negro adolescent who, in the process of searching for his identity, seeks to emulate adults who have status for him and with whom he can identify. Deprived as a child, the young Negro is already several stages behind his white middle-class peers by the time he reaches adolescence. Yet adolescence is a stage of development during which many changes are possible; it is considered by many to be, in fact, a time of "second chance" in the development of personality and ability. Though there are many problems to be overcome, the principles outlined above suggest the means by which life styles can be re-directed, providing there are planned, carefully designed programs which take into consideration the predisposition for change within the adolescent in general and the deprived Negro in particular.

D. PROGRAM CONCEPTS

Upsetting the Equilibrium

The search for identity and the capacity for emulation, so characteristic of adolescents, can be used to great advantage in consciously planning for orderly change in human behavior. As stated in the previous discussion, what must be done is to create a new environment where alterations in the external forces upon the individual are creatively integrated with planned procedures to change the internal, psychological forces which generated and perpetuated the ineffective life style of the individual. A new set of experiences in a new context will upset the equilibrium so that new accommodations must be made. As the adolescent's old identity (life style) is challenged by the new set of conditions and expectations, he will be open to new solutions. An effective program must provide sufficient resources, range of experience, and support to encourage experimentation and a search for new alternative ways of living.

Removing Negative Influences

The first stage in upsetting the balance of forces is to remove the individual from the depriving environment. This immediately permits him to avoid direct confrontation with many of the harassing problems with which he had to deal on a day-to-day basis when living in the community, such as a nagging mother, overcrowded home, the influence of dope pushers, criminals, loan sharks, and the burden of empty hours to be filled. This also eliminates many of the behaviors which helped to sustain, even though precariously, his previous identity - for example, loitering, fighting, succumbing to a variety of temptations in his constant search for ways to obtain money, and fending off a variety of threats to his integrity. These behaviors will not immediately be eliminated merely because the deprived adolescent enters the Project. He will initially attempt to repeat his previous patterns, since that is all he knows. However, since the older conditions which supported this behavior will be largely eliminated, it was expected that with appropriate rewards and punishments negative behavior would be gradually modified and ultimately eliminated.

Constructing a Positive Environment

Simultaneous with taking him out of the old environment, the individual was to be exposed to, and confronted with, a new environment in which new people, new experiences, and new knowledge would require him to act differently. So that he would become immediately involved in the new experiences, there had to be clear and meaningful incentives. Stipends, training in a meaningful occupation, and the promise of future employment were some of the immediate incentives necessary to gain his interest. Just by being in a new and rather unfamiliar environment where he must meet new people his own age, relate to adult staff, and follow the initial schedule, he would begin to behave, albeit tentatively, in new ways. As he began to behave in these new ways, he would be constantly and systematically rewarded for positive actions. The friendliness and interest of the staff, their recognition and respect for him as a person, privileges for effective performance, new social recognition among his peers, and the opportunity to try his hand at a variety of interesting activities would provide a series of powerful reinforcements which would help to alter and modify his behavior. It was considered most important that each trainee, no matter what his intelligence, initial capacity, or physical attributes, experience success from the start in some of these activities. A clear definition of minimal rules and regulations to be observed while in the Project, and their initially flexible enforcement, were to clarify what is expected of him and what he could expect in return. It was expected that the close attention of staff in the residences, in counseling sessions, and in the classroom would permit the trainee additional opportunities to clarify expectations.

Having chosen to enter the training program, the trainee began a year-long stay in an environment where the negative and destructive influences of the community were greatly reduced and a variety of constructive enriching experiences confronted him with new alternatives and choices. As he began to behave differently, his former attitudes, beliefs, feelings, and values would be challenged by these experiences. Gradually, he would form new ones.

Locating the Environment

In providing a new environment to effect individual development by the control of external forces, there is a great danger that the new environment will be so drastically cut off from the realities the youth knows that he will either resist going there in the first place or, when there, choose not to remain. Similarly, there is perhaps an even greater danger that the training program will be only minimally related to the realities the youth must face once training is completed. For deprived urban youth, the hard realities are: finding a meaningful job, maintaining himself physically and psychologically in the city, managing a home and other family responsibilities, using his leisure time effectively, and carving out a responsible role for himself in the community. The TRY program took account of these hard realities and it was for these reasons that it was located in the area from which the majority of youth came and would continue to live. Centrally located and visible, the TRY Project would represent a culturally enriched model community within the deprived local community wherein the educational and cultural resources of the city could be introduced, through the youth.

Ways of Knowing

Most deprived youth are neither introspective nor verbal. They do not know the origin of many of their attitudes and opinions. They have developed neither the awareness that opinions and beliefs are most useful when they are founded upon fact, nor the techniques to check the validity of what they hear and are taught. The most relevant kind of education for these youth is therefore an educational program which requires that they, like scientists, employ empirical methods of selecting, ordering, and analyzing information. This requires an action-centered program in which the student himself actively participates in his own education; the traditional model of the student as passive recipient is irrelevant for the purposes of the deprived adolescent. He must be introduced to the sources of information, he must be guided in the development of capacities, and he must learn how to use them effectively. He must learn how to read, to compute, to listen, to speak; in short, he must learn the basic principles of effective two-way communication.

The Searching-Exploring-Evaluating Sequence

The deprived adolescent is by definition limited in his experience. Like most individuals, he would prefer to stay with the familiar and is somewhat apprehensive about change. And yet, as an adolescent approaching adulthood, possibilities for expanding his horizons are always present. As was noted above in the descriptions of the deprived home environment, the child is frequently punished when he attempts to actively explore or manipulate his environment. He has therefore learned well the lesson that exploration brings with it pain, that manipulation brings with it punishment. The result is that he is, almost as a matter of course, unwilling to risk further pain by trying something new, and tends to be suspicious of those who make such a demand upon him.

In his social behavior, with his peers, he is less constricted and it is that very fact which can be used to stimulate a more active interest in trying something new. In an environment where there is active support and guidance, such individuals can be taught that there is pleasure in learning and that there is satisfaction in the activities of searching for new information, exploring new ways of behaving, evaluating one's self, one's friends, and the world around. The benefits of knowledge and broader experience which he himself discovers will best reinforce this kind of behavior.

To be effective, programs must encourage curiosity and demonstrate the power of knowledge. In the normal process of development, exploration occurs throughout childhood and adolescence. In this respect, the deprived Negro adolescent is usually well behind his white middle-class peers who through exploration have laid the basis for vocational, marital, educational, and other major decisions. To train the deprived adolescent who has not had these opportunities or this experience demands a comprehensive and accelerated program which places emphasis on a process of education through guided exploration.

Perception of Alternatives

Most deprived adolescents have, typically, few responses available to them in any given situation. Therefore, in a basic sense, they are not free to choose among a reasonable set of perceived alternatives. In order for them to make responsible choices, it is necessary to provide them with new knowledge and experience directly related to the realistic life problems they must face. It is also necessary that they have the opportunity for guided reflection (counseling) with the assistance of interested and resourceful adults, so that they improve their ability to identify choice points and to perceive a number of alternatives. It is through the perception of alternatives and the trying out of new behaviors that self-defeating attitudes, values, feelings, and beliefs are challenged and new self-enhancing ones replace them. It is through these experiences that he can discover new ideas and constructs which will help him to take personal responsibility for ordering his life more effectively.

Actions and Their Consequences

The effective modification of behavior requires that the individual be able to understand accurately the relationship between his own acts and their consequences. This is a difficult task for any man, because any given event can be attributed to a multiplicity of possible causes. Any given event can be explained in terms of factors which are potentially under the individual's control and those which are not. Since the deprived adolescent is more than the victim of his environment than the victimizer, it is true for him that in many cases he is indeed not responsible for what happens to him. Thus he has learned the style of not attempting to connect his actions with consequences. This provides him a convenient technique for denying responsibility and for blaming others for what occurs.

Even in those cases where he is directly responsible for what happens, he continues to seek (and find) external explanations. Lacking the ability to make the connection between actions and consequences, he is unable to monitor and therefore modify his behavior. It is essential that training programs permit him to discover that the mature individual is one who is able to anticipate the consequences of a given act, and therefore to choose to behave in such a way that the most desirable consequences are achieved.

Training individuals in the capacity to weigh both the positive and negative consequences of one's acts, and therefore to choose how to behave, requires that the positive and negative consequences of effort and behavior be clearly identified, and that the individual have the guidance and the privacy to reflect upon the relationship between what he does and what happens to him. It is also necessary that there be adequate guidelines and limits placed upon behavior wherein negative behaviors are punished and positive behaviors rewarded, and that the trainee be required to assume progressively greater responsibility for his acts.

The training program must also convey to the adolescent that every decision requires a sifting of alternative consequences or alternative actions, each of which entail benefits and liabilities. He must come to recognize that every decision represents a compromise, and that the best decisions are those which in the long run tend to maximize positive consequences and minimize negative ones.

Themes of Thought-Feeling: Preludes to Action

The initial desire to change one's behavior comes when the individual perceives that there is a connection between what he does and the consequences that ensue, and further realizes that he does not like the price that he is having to pay for behaving as he does (Rothstein, 1962). After he has made the discovery that he must change his behavior, the questions become, "How?" and "I wonder why I do those things?" It is at this stage that he begins to scan his perceptions, thoughts, feelings, values and attitudes, and the facts of the situation which led him to behave as he did. Limited education and a lack of practice in introspection lead him to superficial or incorrect explanations. What he needs is assistance in analyzing the underlying perceptions and conceptions which led him to conclude that a given course of behavior was the best possible one. In order to become more effective in this process, he must learn how to become more aware of the quality and content of his thoughts and feelings.

Although research on the subject is not yet conclusive, there have been some experiments (McClelland, 1961) in using the technique of content analysis to help individuals to understand the basic themes that they repeat to themselves in their fantasy and in daily ruminations. It has been shown, for example, that individuals who tend to think more often about the processes of achievement tend to achieve more often, and that individuals who think more frequently about their relationships with people tend to spend a great deal of their time in activities and conversations with others. As described by Ellis (1962) and Kelley (1955) there is a distinct relationship between what one tells oneself about oneself, about others, and about events in the external world, and what one does in life. As Freudians and others have shown, there is also a marked difference in the quality of decisions and behavior between the individual who considers his own feelings and thoughts before acting and the individual who does not.

If the goal of increasing the self-direction of the trainees is to be achieved, it will be necessary to help them learn how to analyze their own thought processes and their feelings. This will enable them to challenge the adequacy and logic of their assumptions in order to incorporate new ideas and modify the process. It may very well be that the capacity to change behavior is directly related to the capacity to change the focus and the quality of one's thoughts and feelings. An important goal of the TRY Project, therefore, will be to increase the student's awareness of what he is focusing his attention upon, and to help him re-deploy his attention so that he will improve his capacity to act.

The Repeated Experience of Oneself as Competent

In reviewing the history of most deprived youths, one can find repeated instances where they have experienced failure. Often unwanted by his parents, scolded for his explorations, and told in innumerable ways by his teachers that he is inadequate, the deprived adolescent comes to believe that he is inadequate and a failure. The few successes he may have experienced in athletics, in his peer group relationships, and in anti-social activities help him to feel that there are some areas in life where he is effective, although successes in their areas are not often rewarded by adults. As a result, these youths often have an extremely negative conception of themselves as people who can achieve. Since success in an activity must first be experienced to be understood, it is useless to attempt, through exhortation or explanation, to help him believe in his own abilities. It is necessary to have him experience success on many occasions, over an extended period of time. Even after these experiences, it will be necessary to help him assimilate this new view of himself into an otherwise negative self-concept.

Programs must be designed in such a way as to confront the individual with tasks which are geared to his present ability, so that he will be likely to succeed in mastering them. As he learns, tasks can become increasingly more difficult and more complex, but they should always be ones at which he can succeed with reasonable effort. After he has experienced success upon several occasions, he will begin to expect that he can achieve success on the next tasks that he must confront. He will then begin to develop a desire for knowledge and a desire to know how well he performed (feedback) so that he may improve his performance the next time (White, 1959). When this stage has been reached, he will begin to develop an independence from the reinforcement system within the Project and be more able to motivate himself to perform more effectively.

The Selection of One's Own Environment

Most of the youth coming to a project will have had little to say about where they live, how they live, and why they live there. Most are painfully aware that the environment from which they come is vastly different from the environment of most Americans as depicted on television, in magazines, and in the movies. The smoldering or active anger that many youths exhibit is due to their resentment about being poor, being disadvantaged, being Negro, being essentially impotent. Although they resent their condition in life, most have little idea about how to change it. The TRY Project was to deal with this problem in a variety of ways. Perhaps most important is the example which the Project itself would set in demonstrating how individuals can work, study, learn, live, and play together harmoniously for mutual benefit.

The Project would also actively seek to help the trainees realize the effect which an environment and a social context has upon their behavior. Active teaching of new ways of handling life responsibility would also contribute to their understanding. It was hoped that as a result of these factors the trainees could learn the importance of a positive healthy environment, what kind of environment they wanted, and, perhaps more important, the ways in which one creates one's own environment by a series of choices about living arrangements, friends, job, etc. To accomplish this, the trainee would need to have increasing amounts of freedom in determining what kinds of experiences he wanted to have, as he demonstrated that he can take responsibility and deal with it successfully. The development in the trainee of the capacity to select a positive environment through modifying old and incorporating new ideas was one of the most important ingredients in the program of Life-Skills Education, described in the next chapter.

E. THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

Program evaluation was to be an integral part of the TRY proposal. Its chief function was to investigate the nature of the learning experience of trainees through an examination of the relation between various trainee characteristics, program differences and placement outcomes. It was hoped that a system could be devised which would permit a rapid feedback of information about trainee progress to provide a more comprehensive basis for program decision-making and curriculum revision.

The evaluation design integrated traditional social science research techniques with industrial quality control and change research models. It provided for the overall description and interpretation of results of the TRY project. This effort was to demonstrate how organically integrated evaluation could facilitate the self-correction of the educational program.

Research and evaluation methods in the social sciences are in an admittedly elementary state and their application to the complex of variables in the educational setting is extremely difficult. The prospect of establishing evaluation systems in an institution that is developing from ground level zero was challenging. Ghetto residents feel they have been victimized by fruitless research for too long and that it has been used frequently to forestall further action toward resolution of the real and obvious problems that confront them.

Enlisting adequate Project-wide cooperation with evaluation efforts was expected to be very demanding and fraught with uncertainty. The difficulty of this task was underestimated however, and the vicissitudes of the research implementation are described in the following chapters of this report.

F. THE FLEXIBLE RESPONSIBLE INSTITUTION

The management of a human-behavior-change program such as TRY is a complicated, demanding process. On the one hand, there are goals for achievement which public education, and industrial and governmental systems have been unable to attain. On the other hand, there are expectations that the program should be carried out with the efficiency of industry, the frugality of voluntary social agencies, the scientific innovativeness of the man-in-space program, and the detailed attention to statistics characteristic of some governmental agencies.

The goals for achievement, although unprecedented on this scale, are attainable - provided there are adequate resources. The expectations are difficult to meet, but are balanced by the interest and assistance of many persons in industry, education, the professions, government, and in the community.

The management organization of the TRY Project was designed to meet and deal with many new situations. It was an integral part of the total TRY plan and was consistent with the overall objectives of the program. At the same time, it added to the total program thoroughly tested modern management concepts and practices which would enable the entire organization and all of its units to achieve their goals.

The attainment of the objectives of the TRY Project required an enabling organization to translate principles and strategies into operational programs. The management design and procedures of the organization had to be consistent with the philosophy and orientation of the entire Project.

The TRY management design built on a number of basic concepts which provided a way of looking at the organization in terms of social structure, (Getzels 1958, Simon 1950, 1954) decision-making (Argyris 1957) and feedback process (Ginzberg & Reilley 1957, Miles 1964). This framework illuminated the need for a fusion of individual and organizational goals, which was the fundamental objective of the TRY management design.

CHAPTER TWO

THE TRY PROJECT DESIGN

A. The Demonstration Training Project Design

B. The Research Design

C. The Management Design

A. THE DEMONSTRATION TRAINING PROJECT DESIGN

Objectives

Training Resources for Youth, Inc., was formed as an independent membership corporation under the laws of New York State, to conduct a demonstration training center for out-of-school, out-of-work or under-employed male youth aged 17-21. The basic goals of the Project were two-fold:

(1) To provide a demonstration comprehensive educational environment in which youth from the "culture of poverty" could learn the necessary vocational, personal, and social skills which are essential for living effectively in the "culture of achievement."

(2) To develop sound methods and techniques for producing positive changes in the attitudes and behaviors of deprived youth. These were to include new approaches to counseling, more appropriate tests, a new Life Skills Education curriculum, a comprehensive approach to vocational training, intensive recruitment and placement procedures, and new roles for professionals and subprofessionals.

Overview

The youth and as many staff as possible were to be recruited from the area of Bedford-Stuyvesant and adjacent sections of Brooklyn. The Project would offer training in six occupations: automotive-diesel service and repair, food service, vending machine service and repair, business and clerical machine service and repair, heating-refrigeration and appliance repair and service. It would also provide an integrated program of basic and Life-Skills Education and physical education. An opportunity for work experience in trade-related jobs would be provided as well as counseling, medical, legal, and social work services. A portion of the trainees were to be housed in brownstone houses in the community. Placement and follow-through services including post-training counseling and alumni club would be provided to participants when training was completed.

During the first year of project operation, six hundred youths were to be brought into the program at the rate of 125 per month for five months. It was estimated that trainees would stay in the Project approximately 9-18 months with an average duration of one year.

During the first year, a number of key problem areas were to be selected for special study. They were to include: identifying and developing curricula for new occupations, training subprofessional youth advisors, providing multidiscipline services for youth with the most serious learning problems, developing coordinated reading programs, and detailing a new Life-Skills curriculum. Continuous evaluation of these special projects and the overall educational program would provide feedback so that informed decisions regarding program modifications could be achieved rapidly and efficiently. In addition, an intensive staff training program would be developed and instituted.

The Life-Skills Education curriculum was a new approach to the problem of re-educating the disadvantaged adolescent. It was designed to effect positive attitudinal and behavioral changes in the trainee through a series of action projects wherein the student learned competence in deriving and applying knowledge to practical life situations. The Areas of Life-Responsibility emphasized in this curriculum were: Developing and maintaining the self, psychologically and physically; Preparing for a career; Managing home and family responsibilities; Using leisure time productively; and Participating effectively in the community.

The Project was designed to utilize to the fullest the resources of New York City and, in particular, those of Bedford-Stuyvesant. The training program was to provide for numerous field-trip visits to places of business, industrial ships, and social and cultural institutions. In particular, several curriculum units of Life-Skills Education were to provide for an intensive study of community resources. Part-time work experience while the youth are in the Project would acquaint them with the realities of employment in the city.

Occupational training was to be conducted on a subcontract basis with Philco Corporation and Interstate United Corporation. A committee of industrialists was to be formed to assist in overcoming problems of placement. Committees of the Board of Directors would enlist the services of local citizens to assist project youth as they graduated from the training program.

A Behavioral Change Model

Successful programs for effecting lasting psycho-social change require firm theoretical foundations which take into account basic behavioral principles and relevant human experiences. A well thought-out model insures that all program elements are fully coordinated and directed toward a central set of goals.

The TRY program was based on a model which asserts that the consistent patterns of behavior which constitute an individual's life style (personality) are maintained by both internal psychological and external environmental forces and expectations. Changes in life style are effected by 1) altering the external forces in order to confront the individual with positive experiences and eliminate negative ones, and 2) helping the individual to internalize new life styles by assisting him to reflect upon the new experiences, to develop skills at perceiving the relationship between his own actions and their consequences, and to take increasing amounts of initiative in making choices about his life.

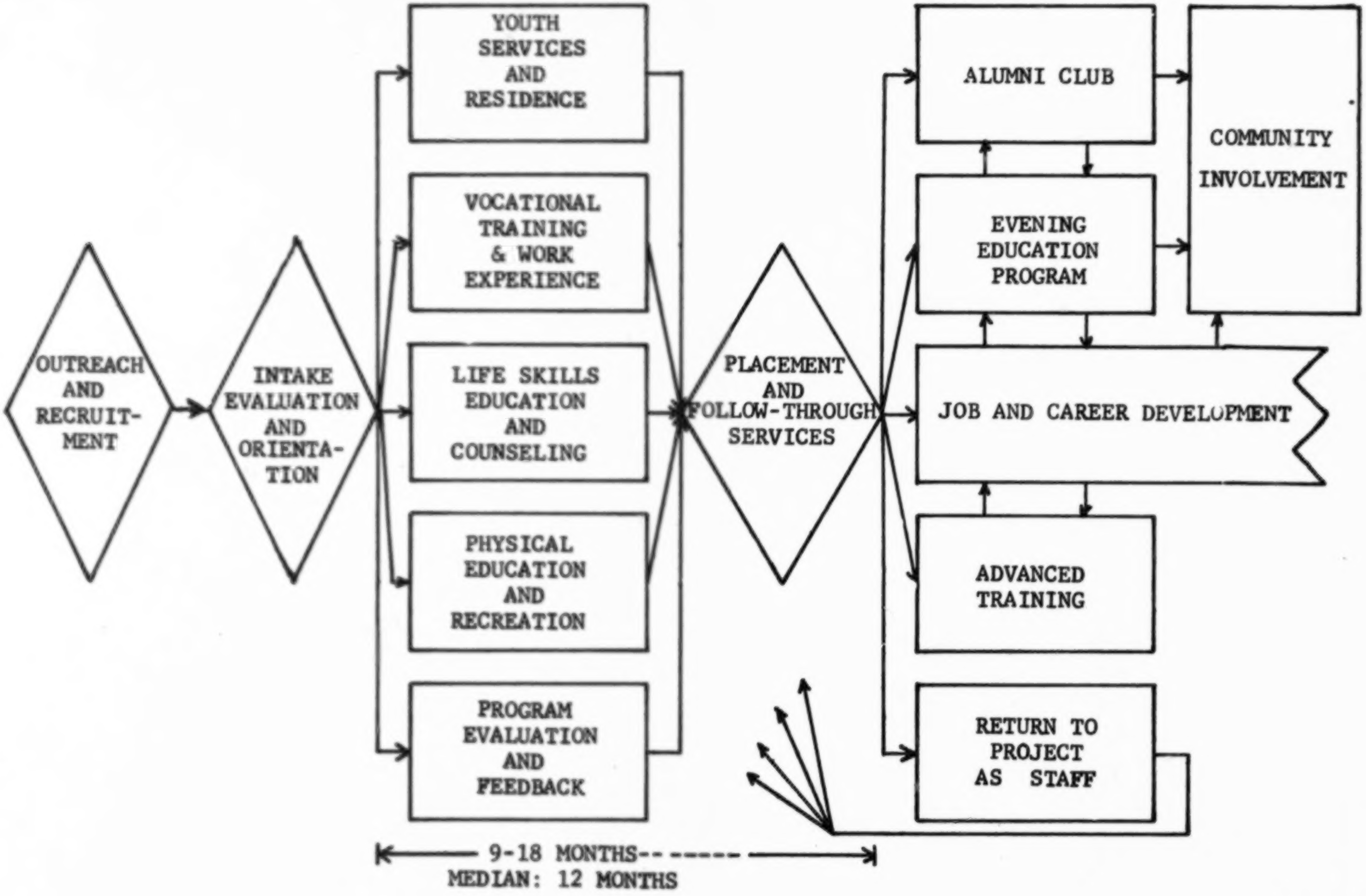
The severely limited life style of the socially deprived adolescent was conceived of as being maintained in a precarious state of equilibrium by a complex of environmental forces (punishing relationships with adults, unemployment, poor housing, school failure, broken families, etc.) which constantly impel him in the direction of increasing social alienation and rebellion. It was thought that, to change his life style, a new positive learning environment must be provided which would eliminate the negative conditions and confront the youth with new alternatives. A practical and meaningful educational program, directed toward the specific needs of the deprived adolescent and utilizing his strengths was considered essential. A series of graded, action-centered activities, with time to reflect upon their significance, could be expected to encourage the development of new modes of behavior which would be constantly and systematically reinforced in the classroom, in the shop, in recreation, in residence and through community involvement.

The Comprehensive Program

After being recruited for the program, and after clearances were obtained from family and school, the youth admitted for training was to be oriented to the Project, evaluated, and assisted in making a choice of one of six occupations. He would also be assigned to a Life Skills

TRAINING RESOURCES FOR YOUTH

FLOW DIAGRAM


OUTREACH AND RECRUIT-MENT
INTAKE EVALUATION AND ORIENTA-TION
YOUTH SERVICES AND RESIDENCE
VOCATIONAL TRAINING & WORK EXPERIENCE
LIFE SKILLS EDUCATION AND COUNSELING
PHYSICAL EDUCATION AND RECREATION
PROGRAM EVALUATION AND FEEDBACK
PLACEMENT AND FOLLOW-THROUGH SERVICES
ALUMNI CLUB
EVENING EDUCATION PROGRAM
JOB AND CAREER DEVELOPMENT
ADVANCED TRAINING
RETURN TO PROJECT AS STAFF
COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT
9-18 MONTHS
MEDIAN: 12 MONTHS

Education group with fourteen other trainees, and would select a recreation program. The leader of the Life-Skills Education group was to conduct counseling sessions in order to help the trainee coordinate his program, give him support, and help him to resolve personal difficulties as they arose. The daily program for each youth would be about seven to eight hours long with additional scheduled voluntary activities. It would include about three hours of occupational training, three hours of Life-Skills Education, and one to two hours of sports and recreational activities. This basic schedule was to be flexibly administered depending on the immediate needs of the youth as determined by the youth and his Life-Skills Educator. (For example, some youth might need work experience immediately upon entering the program; other youth might need more than three hours per day of vocational training for a period of time.) Toward the end of the program, each youth would work with special placement counselors, be assisted in finding a job, and provided with follow-through services such as: post-training counseling, an alumni club, and recreational programs. (See flow chart opposite).

Vocational Training and Work Experiences

Vocational Training was to be offered in six occupations: (1) automotive-diesel service and repair, (2) food service, (3) vending machine service and repair, (4) business machine service and repair, (5) heating and refrigeration service and maintenance, and (6) appliance service and repair. The new training programs would be self-pacing and geared to the reading and math levels of participants. Intermediate job skill pay-offs were to be provided in each curriculum so that youth could enter part-time occupationally relevant work experiences. For example, after the first several months of training in auto mechanics, a trainee might work as a service station attendant. After several more months of training, he might work as an assistant mechanic. After several more months, he might begin to specialize and then work as a bench mechanic, parts man, transmission specialist, etc.

The Vocational Training program with its related work experience was to give trainees the opportunity to learn vital job related skills in a supportive environment.

As indicated, the last portion of each training program would provide several tracks for specialization. One of these tracks in each program would offer training skills necessary for small business management related to each of these occupations. New training materials were to be developed as appropriate.

Life-Skills Education

Life-Skills Education was to be a comprehensive experience-centered program designed to effect changes in the psycho-social attitudes and behaviors of disadvantaged adolescents so that they could function more effectively as workers, students, husbands, fathers and citizens. To accomplish this goal, the traditional roles of the classroom teacher and the counselor were to be combined and a new curriculum was to be developed that would provide each trainee, through a series of planned, graded activities, with an opportunity to gain increasing competence in deriving and applying knowledge to practical life situations. The curriculum was divided into the five major "Areas of Life-Responsibility", maintaining the self pshysically and psychologically; managing a career; using leisure time productively; managing home and family responsibilities; and participating effectively in the community.

Basic verbal and computational skills necessary for competence in handling life responsibilities would be taught as an integral part of the Life-Skills curriculum. New reading and visual-aid materials specifically designed for disadvantaged youth would be developed as appropriate.

Remediation

Many of the trainees were expected to exhibit severe problems in the areas of basic skills preparation. Remediation specialists were to be concerned with the refinement of existing techniques and the development of new methods of teaching reading efficiently, utilizing available technology. The focus during the first year of the project would be on the construction of programs for diagnosis and remediation. The basic objectives were to be: 1) to define the essential reading subskills that must be mastered in order to obtain different levels of reading competence, 2) to develop appropriate diagnostic procedures for assessing subskill performance, 3) to develop reading and math remediation programs that could be incorporated as a part of Life-Skills Education.

Recreation and Physical Education

Physical education and a variety of recreation activities were to be offered in the Project. Sample activities included: woodworking, dramatics, public speaking, a project newspaper, musical and choral activities, athletics, dances and various art programs. The intent of the program was to provide another important area wherein trainees might gain a sense of competence, learn how to use their leisure time profitably, and come to know the activities and cultural resources of the city.

Youth Services

In addition to formal training a variety of special program units were deemed necessary to provide supportive services to youth as they moved through the Project. These special services included: recruitment; intake and evaluation; housing; medical, dental, legal and social work services; and post-training follow-through services to supplement placement.

Recruitment was to represent the first step in moving the disadvantaged adolescent from the street corner to a place in the economic and social mainstream of our society. The trainees would be recruited by: 1) referrals from community agencies and individuals, 2) public announcements and advertisements, and 3) an active outreach program. At the time of funding, twenty agencies in the community were referring youth to the YMCA Youth and Work Project, the proto-type operation for TRY. It was anticipated that referrals from these and other sources would increase. The training program would also be announced on the radio, on television and in the local newspapers. The second largest source of trainees would probably be through these media. An effort to be made through an active outreach program to reach the "passive one-third" of the dropout population who have little or no contact with any agency and do not respond to announcements. Since there were 77,000 out-of-school, out-of-work youth in New York City, little difficulty was anticipated in recruiting sufficient numbers of youth.

Following an initial tooling-up period, the Recruitment and Intake unit would process a sufficient number of youth to insure an admission rate to the Project of about one hundred twenty-five per month for the first five months of 1967. A level of six hundred trainees would be maintained for the remainder of the first year.

The major functions of Recruitment and Intake were: 1) to provide initial screening and evaluation of all potential candidates. This will include medical, dental, and psycho-social evaluation, 2) to obtain the necessary school and family clearances and to conduct an orientation period for all trainees. The specific nature of the various program units will be thoroughly described and demonstrated, 3) to maintain records of initial data concerning each trainee for purposes of evaluation and refinement of procedures.

The Special Services unit included medical, dental, legal and social work services. It had major responsibility for such activities as operating first-aid stations, coordinating and implementing medical and dental treatment as required, providing personal legal services for the trainees in cases where such services are not otherwise available, providing a variety of necessary casework services which include assistance with family problems, relations with other agencies, and referrals for services not available within the Project.

It would have been desirable for all trainees to have the opportunity to live within the Project. However, budgetary considerations made it necessary to limit the number of trainees who could be so accommodated. Housing would provide them with a place to study and be alone, and an informal setting where positive relationships with interested adult advisors and other youth could develop. Those trainees to whom residence would be available would be housed in small brownstone units located in the community.

An effective job development and placement program was considered essential to sustain the motivation of the trainees during the period of their training. The prospect of employment would give meaning to the training program. The experience of placing youth in jobs would insure the feedback of information which is necessary to modify the training curriculum in order to take into account employment realities. Good employment potential existed in each of the six occupations offered in the TRY program. The occupations selected had the following characteristics: 1) a high present and future demand for skilled workers in these job areas, 2) entry jobs in these occupations are available to persons with reading and math ability at no higher than the ninth-grade level, 3) an opportunity for upward mobility in the occupation through further training, 4) these occupational areas are relatively free from the effects of automation and are fields of growth rather than of diminishing employment, 5) these occupations are relatively free from seasonal layoff problems and minority group - union problems. The TRY Project had assurances from Philco Corporation, Interstate United Corporation (Brass Rail Restaurants), and a number of major petroleum companies for assistance in employing graduates of the program. As each trainee approached the end of the training program, he was to be evaluated by placement counselors who would attempt to match him with available job opportunities. Placement counselors were to conduct periodic on-the-job counseling with both the trainee and the employer to assist in effecting a lasting job adjustment. If for any reason employment was terminated, the placement counselor would be available to assist the trainee in locating other suitable employment.

For many trainees the transitional period between the training environment and adjustment to the demands of living and working in the community would be a difficult one. A variety of services were considered essential in order to give him the necessary support and assistance during this critical period. Alumni clubs, post-training counseling, recreation and assistance with family and housing problems would be offered as long as necessary to insure successful adjustment. As much as possible, citizens from the community would be enlisted to help with these programs. Involvement of local volunteers would serve as an indication to the trainee of the community's continued interest in his welfare. Follow-through and placement services were looked upon as representing the final stage in the re-integration of these young men into the social and economic mainstream of the community.

The Trainee and the Program

The model which shaped the TRY Proposal emphasized that the structure of an environment plays a major role in determining the way an individual behaves. In the design of the TRY program, therefore, much emphasis was placed upon the nature of staff-trainee relationships, questions of responsibility and individual freedom, the scheduling of the trainee's time, and ways in which these external guidelines for behavior will be internalized by the trainee. Psycho-social development of trainees would be enhanced by a program organization which would assist the trainee in the gradual transition from his narrow perception of relatively few choices he has to make on his own, to increasing awareness that responsibility for choosing,lies with the individual. The trainee would enhance his own sense of competency and self-worth while learning valuable skills for relating with others, regulating his own behavior and making the most of his time and energy. Student representatives were to have a primary role in setting and maintaining standards of conduct as well as participating in program planning for the design of their own schedules as they progressed through the program.

Staff Training and Development

Maintenance of good communication, esprit de corps and quick responsiveness to emerging opportunities or problems requires a creative on-going staff development program, using all the formal and informal means at its disposal. The education problems with which the TRY Project was to deal would require a well trained, flexible and able staff. The variety of educational innovations in the Project would make it necessary to supplement the formal educational backgrounds and conventional experiences that most of the staff would bring to the Project, with additional training, specifically geared to the needs of the deprived adolescent and the TRY educational system. Following orientation to the Project, a continuing program of in-service training, in cooperation with the representatives of local universities and senior staff members, was to be provided for each professional and subprofessional staff member. Training was to include: weekly in-service seminars, conducted by qualified staff members or university consultants; inter- and intra-disciplinary case conferences; and formal courses at universities. Daily training would occur in supervisory sessions necessary to the conduct of the program.

Youth Advisor, A New Semi-Professional Role

One of the consistent difficulties in providing services, including education, for the deprived is the problem of communication across social class barriers. Those providing services often cannot effectively establish the kind of two-way communication necessary if learning is to take place. Mature individuals, indigenous to the local community, who may lack formal educational preparation were to be hired as assistants in several phases of the program. It was felt that indigenous staff could improve the quality of communication. The use of such personnel might also provide an important opportunity to define new subprofessional roles and to provide meaningful employment for talented individuals, who, because of social deprivation, lack the academic qualifications traditionally required for such employment. In-service training programs would be developed to train indigenous Youth Advisors as Recruitment and Intake Advisors, Life Skills Advisors, Recreation and Physical Education Advisors, and Placement and Follow-through Advisors. It was anticipated that during the first year of the Project, new career lines for Youth Advisors would be identified, and appropriate selection and training procedures devised, which would have significance for this and other projects. It was also anticipated that some of these Youth Advisors would be able enough to become regular instructors in the second or third year of the foregoing Plan.

Operations Data Feedback

The design for program evaluation placed a high premium on the early identification of factors affecting the decision-making process of trainees, staff, and management so that the necessary modifications in programs and procedures could be made as quickly as possible. Such an organic approach, which takes into account the ongoing interactions between staff and trainee and makes this knowledge regularly available as the program evolves, was considered crucial for program success, and was one of the goals of project evaluation. This system was to be developed, first on a pilot basis and then introduced to the project as a whole at appropriate stages.

Project information processing was to incorporate, on a practical basis, regular feedback of several types:

(1) Feedback to each trainee of concrete information on his progress. It was assumed that "knowledge of results" was essential to enable trainees to modify their behavior, and for staff to adjust the learning environment.

(2) Feedback of information to program leadership and line staff about staff performance and program unit effectiveness. This was considered necessary if program modification and development was to be an ongoing process based on informed decisions.

(3) Feedback of information to the responsible community about overall project operation. This information was to be in the form of reports, conferences, and seminars with contract officials, board members, professional consultants and ad-

visory committee members, local community organizations and officials, friends and relatives of trainees, and institutions such as the Board of Education, the Employment Service, the Police Department, and other community projects.

A fuller description of the internal data feedback system and its procedures can be found in the earlier submission entitled, A Design For Action Research At Project TRY.

B. THE RESEARCH DESIGN

The Nature Of Research At TRY

The major purpose of this experimental-demonstration project was to develop a variety of more effective methods, techniques and systems for producing positive attitudinal and behavioral changes in disadvantaged youth, so that they might become employed, self-supporting and productive citizens. The theoretical basis on which such attitudinal and behavioral changes were predicated was described in Chapter III of the TRY Proposal. Insofar as possible, we attempted to reflect these concepts in the design of the educational programs and the structure of the Project, as described above.

The research planned for Project TRY can best be described as action-research which is primarily directed at facilitating and improving program operations in this experimental and demonstration training project. Due to the innovative and complex design of the project, this research was exploratory in nature and multivariate in design.

Action research seeks to describe and discover relationships between significant events that occur in a naturalistic setting. On the one hand scientific inquiry of this sort lacks the elegance and relative simplicity of the carefully ordered laboratory experiment where the variables which influence outcomes can be brought under more effective control. On the other hand, while action research may lack the elegance, order and control of the laboratory, it confronts the investigator with the complex realities of real-life problems, messy as they often are, and increases the likelihood that his findings will have more immediate and relevant applications. In addition, the process of inquiry itself, in an educational setting, may very well encourage the questioning attitude and self-study which is so essential a part of education, and of creative educational programming.

TRY research was exploratory in nature in two senses: 1) in a general sense, the search for and adaptation and development of instruments, techniques and professional roles in an experimental-demonstration project is an exploratory process that becomes more focused with increasing experience throughout the life of the project. 2) in a more specific sense, in view of the lack of a carefully researched body of knowledge about the learning process of the culturally disadvantaged, research studies during the first phase had to be exploratory and focused upon ex post facto analysis of events as they occur. There is little justification at this time for applying traditional hypothetico-deductive research methods in an action research setting to investigate the major complex questions. The traditional approach requires the prior construction of carefully differentiated and consistent treatment modalities and the random assignment of subjects, a process which is particularly difficult in view of the sensitivity and suspiciousness of the culturally disadvantaged toward the "manipulations" required by this kind of research.

TRY research was based upon the utilization of multivariate techniques which could facilitate in-depth exploration of critical questions and enhance the opportunity for new discoveries. The current availability of multivariate techniques made possible exploratory studies of the complex interrelationships among data. Moreover, it was a fundamental assumption of both program and research at TRY that significant behavioral change is the outcome of the interplay of multiple classes of variables. Multivariate analysis was entirely consistent with and crucial to our understanding of these processes.

The attempt to carry out this exploratory, multivariate action-research effort in an institution which itself was just achieving a modest degree of stability after one year of existence was a most arduous task. The difficulties of carrying out research in such a context are numerous and require the frequent reexamination of plans (see Chapter III of this report); however, the knowledge gained about the realities of the learning process and the research process is well worth the price. The heuristic value of this first-generation exploratory, multivariate action-research program was that it might lead to realistic, better controlled and defined second and third generation research studies, which would suggest specific issues for investigation either in the laboratory or in a more predictable naturalistic environment.

Major Research Questions

Research at TRY was basically concerned with answering these three fundamental questions:

1. Does the program work? (i. e., are there positive changes in the attitudes and behaviors of trainees? What can account for those changes which are observed?)

    a. Have trainees achieved a minimally adequate level of knowledge and skill in a vocational trade?

    b. Have trainees significantly improved their basic functional communication and computational skills?

    c. Has there been any change in the pattern of vocational aptitudes, interests and work values?

    d. Has there been an increase in trainee's self-esteem, i. e., positive attitudes toward the self?

    e. Has there been an increase in usable information about and attitudes toward life-skills problems, in the areas of: career planning, recreational activities and opportunities, the nature of the community, physical, home and family responsibilities?

    f. Has there been an increase in knowledge of Negro history and culture and the contributions of Negroes to American culture?

    g. Has there been an increase in the trainee's ability to solve personal problems successfully, i. e., an increasing congruence between thoughts about problems, the actions taken, and the anticipation of consequences?

    h. Has there been an increase in realistic goal-setting and planning?

    i. Has there been an increased ability to enter into and maintain functionally useful and mutually enhancing interpersonal relationships with peers and others?

    j. Has there been an increase in the trainee's capacity to regulate his behavior in order to satisfy his own needs in the context of the social structure?

2. What in the Program can account for those changes in trainees which occur?

Project TRY was composed of a number of closely interrelated program components, but the specific patterning of these components for any individual trainee varied, for example with his needs and interests, with the length of time he had been in the program, with differences in staff and therefore differences in curriculum, differences in basic-skills training program, etc.

The examination of these several program differences and their varying effect on trainee performance would help to produce critical and useful information for program improvement for project management. The following were illustrative questions which had significance not only for evaluating the effectiveness of the TRY program, but also for the operation of every manpower training program:

a. Staff - How do you select them, train them, determine their effectiveness in general and with particular kinds of trainees? Are there different patterns of effectiveness in Vocational Training and Life-Skills?

b. Life-Skills Education - What is the utility and feasibility of combining the teaching and counseling functions, what is the best approach to the development and implementation of a problem-centered, reality-oriented curriculum (methods, degree of autonomy and participation of educators, etc.), how effective are non-classroom projects and experiences (including field trips), can trainees profit from participation in constructing their own curriculum? What are the most effective methods for improving basic communication and computational skills and with what kinds of trainees?

c. Vocational Training - What are the most appropriate methods for the selection and assignment of trainees to different trades, what is the effect of multiple training branches within a family of occupations on differential vocational choice of trainees? Can changes in vocational aptitudes and interests be attributed to specific vocational training?

d. Residence - To what extent and with what kind of youth does residence in a self-contained unit influence vocational progress and social and personal adjustment?

> What are the special problems of such a residence program?

The preceding questions and some others of similar practical value were to be assessed through the use of multivariate techniques in seeking to answer the fundamental question which defined the purpose of this project:

> What kind of program, composed of what components, with what characteristics, is most effective with what kind of trainee, over what period of time?

3. What can be learned about the problems of conducting action-research in experimental-demonstration training programs?

In view of the relative lack of information about training programs for the disadvantaged, together with the sensitivities about and resistance to research, ways must be found to engage program staff in the process of self-study; i. e., to participate in the evaluation of program effectiveness. In addition, given the state of the art with respect to relevant tests and instruments for the disadvantaged, a critical need for test developments exists; a necessity which creates the opportunity for involving program staff in the development of appropriate tools for assessment. Project TRY could contribute to knowledge about these research processes as it sought to answer the question posed by this design; namely,

> What kind of research system, with what kinds of instruments, with what degree of program-staff participation, and with what amount of lead-time, is necessary to monitor training effectively, and contribute to program development and improvement?

In the remaining sections of this chapter, for purposes of maximum clarity, we have organized the description of the research design in the following sequence: 1) Basic definitions which provided a methodological framework; 2) a detailed and illustrative study indicating some suitable procedures; 3) a series of hypotheses, with typical cross-break analyses, which could also utilize a similar set of procedures; 4) several special studies; 5) a description of a system planned for information collection, processing, storage, and feedback, and 6) a summary of critical issues.

A Methodological Framework

1. The Definition of the TRY Sample

The basic variables to be considered in selecting trainees and the most desirable proportions for each selection category were as follows:

A. Race

The ideal distribution of trainees would include: 70% Negro, 15% Caucasian, 15% Puerto Rican. This would have represented adequately, the ethnic composition of the Bedford-Stuyvesant community while permitting the advantages of an integrated student body with minority groups large enough to prevent their becoming isolated.

B. Reading Level

The most useful distribution of reading levels within the trainee population would have been one that provided a sufficient range of reading ability, an index of past educational attainment, with a mean level at about the 6th grade, and an approxmately normal distribution around the mean.

C. Age

The most appropriate distribution with respect to age would have included about 120 trainees (20% of the total population) in each of five age groupings designated as 17, 18, 19, 20 and 21 year olds. This would permit study of the interaction between age and other variables and permit quasi-longitudinal comparisons.

D. Probation

The maximum number of trainees coming from probationary referral sources should have been 25%; i.e., 150 trainees. This limit was imposed in order to prevent an interpretation of the Project as essentially a non-voluntary juvenile delinquency project, rather than a voluntary program concerned with the broader issues of retraining and education for disadvantaged adolescents, which was, in fact, the primary purpose of TRY.

E. Educational Background

The proportion of high school graduates or holders of equivalency diplomas should have been limited to 20%; i.e., 120 trainees. With a minimum of 80% of the TRY population made up of non-high school graduates or GED certificate holders, the sample would represent the realities of the community the project serves and insure, along with reading levels, that TRY was truly selecting among the wide range of abilities, including the so-called "hard core."

2. Variables

A. Trainee Variables

The following list includes some of the major variables that were to be used in various studies examining the relationship between changes in critical trainee behaviors and attitudes, and program variables. (Expanded charts, complete with definitions and suggested instrumentation can be found in an earlier submission (Rosenberg and Adkins, 1967) A Design for Action Research at Project TRY.

(1) Knowledge and Skills
    a. Vocational Training
    b. Life-Skills Education
    c. Basic Communication and Computation Skills

(2) Aptitudes, Interests and Values
    a. Vocational Aptitude
    b. Vocational Interest
    c. Work Values
    d. General Aptitude (IQ)
    e. Vocational Maturity

(3) Cognitive Skills
    a. Problem-solving
    b. Goal-setting and Planning
    c. Field Independence

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d. Risk Taking
e. Mode of Thinking

(4) Personality
  a. Self-esteem
  b. Vocational Self-concept
  c. Self-regulation
  d. Attitudes
  e. Motives
  f. Interpersonal Relationships

(5) Biographical Demographic Factors
  a. Age
  b. Birthplace
  c. Family Situation
  d. Education
  e. Work Experience, etc.

B. Staff Variables

The following variables were considered to be worthy of study in relation to trainee variables and program variations:

(1) Pedagogical Skills - Life-Skills/Vocational Education
  a. Command of Subject Matter
  b. Classroom/Shop teaching skills
  c. Counseling
  d. Individual Projects
  e. Administration
  f. Integration-of-role Components

(2) Skills In Relating To Trainees And Community
  a. Knowledge of Trainee and Community
  b. Empathy
  c. Reality Orientation
  d. Flexibility
  e. Maturity

(3) Personal Characteristics
  a. Values
  b. Attitudes
  c. Motives
  d. Personality

(4) Biographical Demographic Factors
   a. Age
   b. Birthplace
   c. Family Situation
   d. Education
   e. Work Experience, etc.

C. Program Variations

The trainee and staff variables described above were to be examined in relation to the following program variations:

Program Category*	Variations
(1) Life-Skills Education	Content-centered Experience-centered
(2) Vocational Training	(a) Auto-Diesel Mechanics Repair and Service (b) Vending Machine Repair and Service (c) Appliance Repair and Service (d) Heating/Air Conditioning/Refrigeration Repair and Service (e) Business Machines (f) Food Service

*It should be noted that another major basis for program variations would be individual differences in staff characteristics which would define a different set of experiences in Life-Skills (both classroom and counseling) and Vocational Training for different groups of trainees. These differences could be examined in terms of differences in teacher style (structured as against non-structured, authoritarian as against permissive, etc.), and differences in the amount of teacher as against student initiation of activity.

3. Quantitative and Non-quantitative Data

A project such as TRY, with its focus on the processes of behavioral change and upon the interpersonal encounters which underlie those processes, must not depend solely, or even primarily, upon data-collection methods which are standardized and easily quantifiable. Neither should the availability of punch-card data-processing techniques determine the kinds of research questions that must be dealt with. Too often dependence upon available tests and sophisticated statistical aids produces complex analyses which are unrelated to the realities of the issues involved and are of little practical value.

Quantification and mechanical processing were to be attempted where practical. Observations which seemed important and relevant and which could not be quantified were to be handled descriptively or anecdotally and would be integrated with more mathematical treatment of the data. Given the scope of problems involved in the TRY Project, it was more than likely that many significant findings would involve non-quantifiable, non-statistical observations.

The data collection procedures of the study, accordingly, included:

A Standardized Test Administrations - Attitude and interest questionnaires,. achievement tests, etc.

B Structured Observational Techniques - Directive interview, ratings, sociometrics.

C Unstructured Observational Techniques - Participant-observer ratings, content analysis, projectives, etc.

D "Tailor-made" Test Administrations - "Teacher-made" tests, shop tests, specially developed in-house measurements.

E Staff and Trainee Narrative Reports

Procedures A through D permitted in appropriate degrees, some quantification and/or codification for purposes of analysis, and for the establishment of validity and reliability.

Together with Procedure E, they provided a range of data from the intensely personal through the more "objective" and "impersonal," which would allow the research staff to study the nature of the processes involved, for both staff and trainee, in changing and modifying behavior at a number of different levels. A multileveled approach was absolutely essential since the processes of change were considered both complex and subtle and had to be explored, using a variety of techniques. Whether the nature of such changes as did occur could have been identified by objective, standard measures or by more subjective, observational techniques could not be predicted in advance. In any given domain one or the other kind of measure might have been more important. In many cases the interaction between levels of measurement might have provided the most significant clue. The TRY research model provided data at each level on an ongoing basis as part of an approach to the evaluation of change.

Basically, this action-research design was intended to insure that we asked the right questions and that we systematically attempted to get answers. In view of the complexity of human beings and the crudeness of present research techniques, quite obviously the answers to many questions could not be derived from statistics, but had to be based upon the wisdom and sensitivity of staff judgment.

4. Criteria

Below are major categories of variables that can be used as intermediate and long-range criterion measures. As indicated changes in trainee behavior and attitudes will be basic intermediate criteria. (The preceding list of trainee variables is summarized below.)

A. Intermediate Criteria (Provisional)

(1) Knowledge and skill in Life-Skills and Vocational Training
(2) Personality
(3) Aptitudes, interests and values
(4) Cognitive skills

B. Long-range Criteria

(1) Vocational adjustment

(2) Social adjustment
(3) Community participation
(4) Leisure activities participation

The development of long-range criteria necessarily includes the following: an evaluation of placement activities (i.e., number of placements, extent of training-related placements, employer attitudes, etc.); trainee utilization of post-training resources (counseling, recreation, alumni clubs); post-training educational experience, etc. Project placement success was to be viewed in terms of the current employment market in each of the trade areas as compared to the placement success of other projects. An attempt should also be made to develop an index of employability, which would be more comprehensive than entry job placement and retention data.

5. Controls

Unrelenting community and internal pressure to provide training to applicants on a minimal exclusion basis made it impossible and even undesirable to establish randomly assigned experimental and control groups. Consistent with this reality and the ex post facto nature of the research design, we planned to deal with the control problem by using comparison groups, quasi longitudinal studies and methodological controls. (For a fuller discussion of this see the full text of the research design cited above.)

6. Statistical Considerations and Hypotheses

It was anticipated that the three usual kinds of statistical techniques would be employed; i.e., descriptive, analytic (correlational and analysis of variance designs), and factorial (factor and cluster analysis). The latter technique was particularly aimed at measuring the relative contributions of trainee characteristics and program components to major project goals. In view of the methodological problems inherent in ex post facto research designs it was necessary to specify a series of hypotheses about the major dependent variables with which we were concerned, and to consider these in relation to alternative hypotheses so that gross errors of interpretation could be avoided. Each of the questions posed above constituted an implicit hypothesis of the study. The research design, cited above, contains a fuller discussion of the technical aspects of the statistics, hypotheses and analyses planned for the study of the critical research questions.

D. Special Studies

There were several important issues which by their very nature did not permit ex post facto explanatory treatment in a setting such as TRY. These special issues lent themselves to examination in a series of circumscribed "pilot studies," which are listed below:

a. The comparative effectiveness of several methods of remedial reading instruction at several different reading ability levels; for example, programmed instruction vs. individualized instruction vs. language experience instruction for poor readers and non-readers.

b. The comparative effectiveness on selected trainee characteristics of two different curriculum approaches for Life-Skills education; for example, content centered curriculum vs. experience centered curriculum as it effects self-regulation, risk-taking and independence in trainee behavior.

c. The effect of trade training on vocational aptitude as measured by typical standardized aptitude tests used in the schools and industry. Here the design involved measuring change in measured aptitude as a function of trade area and length of time in training.

Concluding Remarks

The foregoing description of an action-research design for the TRY Project represented those minimum investigations which had to be undertaken if basic knowledge about changes in the trainees, the effectiveness of program components, and the utility and appropriateness of research methods were to be gained. The design was intended to be flexible to allow for the innumerable contingencies that inevitably accompany action research. The question of the extent to which it was possible to conduct even a minimum program of research at that time and under the prevailing circumstances will be treated in Chapter Three of this report.

C. THE MANAGEMENT DESIGN

Introduction

It was recognized in setting up the TRY project that the management design would have a major effect on program operations. We therefore attempted to build into the management design a number of concepts which we felt would optimize the organization's ability to function in a responsible yet flexible way to meet both the goals of the project and the emerging day to day practical situations.

The long range goal was to set up the project in such a way that after a three to five year demonstration-research period it could become an ongoing community institution either maintaining its corporate independence or coming under some larger corporate entity such as The New York City School System or The Human Resources Administration. Therefore, we wanted to set up the management design in such a way that local community leadership could efficiently take over and operate the program within that period of time. We also felt that if the management design worked well enough it would be a useful model for other educational, manpower and anti-poverty projects.

Issues In The Management Design

Six major issues were confronted in setting up the management design. The first of these was the issue of local control. We strongly felt that since most programs were controlled from outside the Bedford-Stuyvesant area that this project should be locally controlled. Therefore the Board of Directors by design was to have two-thirds of its membership come from the Bedford-Stuyvesant community with the racial distribution of the Board also being about two-thirds Negro. Setting up an independent non-profit corporation was the first step in this process.

The second issue was how much authority and responsibility for decision making should be vested at each level within the organization. The policy adopted was to give as much authority as possible to the persons who were directly accountable for results. Thus, Division Directors were responsible for building, defending and managing the budget for their areas with technical assistance from the finance department. Directors and Supervisors were responsible for screening and recommending front line staff who would be working directly with them. Teachers had considerable freedom in ordering educational materials and in budgeting for a variety of field trips.

The third issue in the management design was how to handle the relationship between the service and the research aspects of the project. Since the community felt that it has been researched to death, we decided that the research aspects of the project should be interpreted in light of their contribution to the practical services offered by the program. We grossly underestimated the dilemma this decision would create within the organization, but at the time it seemed the only realistic way to proceed.

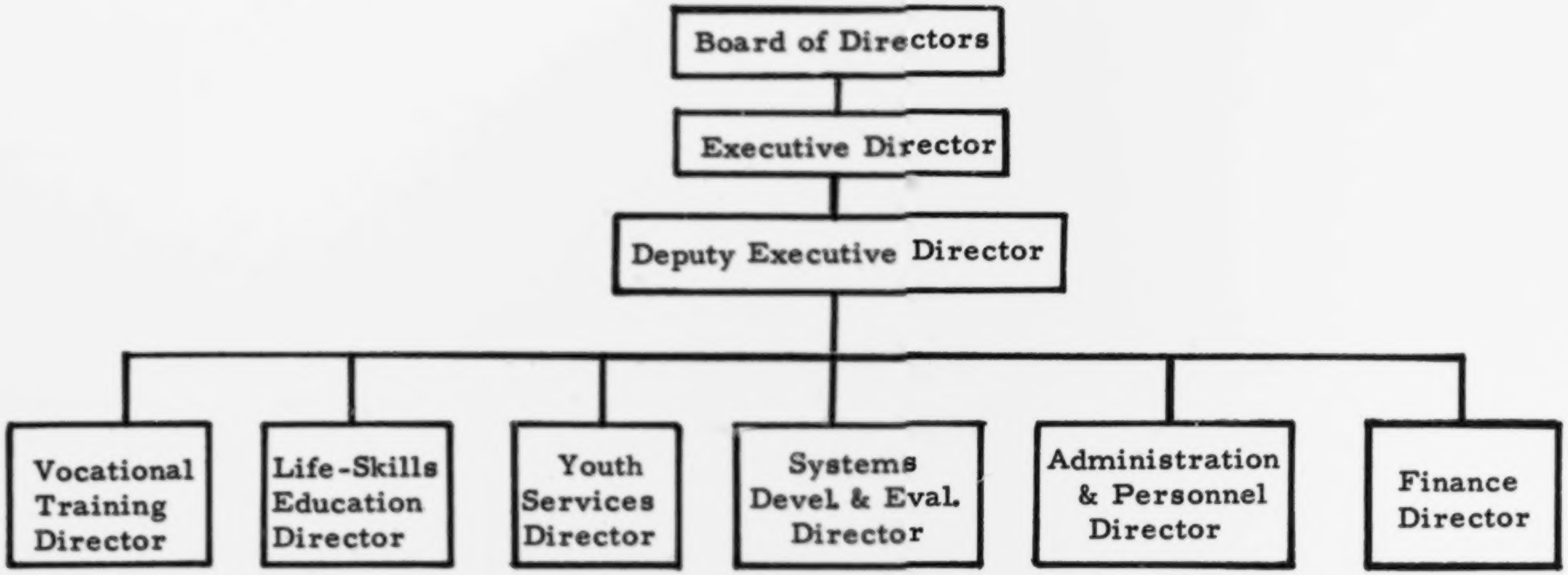
The fourth issue had to do with the involvement of trainees and staff in the overall management of the project. In terms of the design of the project itself we felt that it was very important that trainees have a place in the overall management of the organization. We saw this as a two-fold program: first, the organization of a student government to deal with a wide variety of issues, and second, that representatives from the student government have an opportunity to observe the Board of Directors of the corporation in action. In light of the experience of the Mobilization for Youth and other programs where staff members had unionized, we were reluctant to build a union into the overall management design from the very beginning, but we did want to design the management of the project in such a way that if a union was established within the project we would have the capacity to work effectively with it. We made the decision from the beginning that only the Executive Director and the Deputy Executive Director would be members of the Board of Directors. We recognized that this issue like the issue of the role of research in a total project was one that created real dilemmas and that the best that we could do would be to account for several options in the management design.

The fifth issue had to do with the desired type of mix of ethnic background, place of residence, and level of education to be represented in the staff. The majority of the Board of Directors felt strongly that at least seventy-five percent of the staff should be Negro, that as many as possible should be residents of the local community, and that wherever possible experience should stand as a substitute for educational requirements. The stated goals for the selection of staff were: competence, color, and community. There was general support for having an integrated staff in spite of the then emerging emphasis that whites be excluded. The issue of staff mix was most strongly felt in the design of the top management group, and later on in the design of the Systems Development and Evaluation Division. This was particularly difficult because a majority of the development staff were white and several of them had been nominated for key positions in the organization.

The sixth issue confronted in the management design was the relationship between the Board of Directors and the senior management group regarding the decision-making process in the organization. While this issue is somewhat related to the first issue on local control, it is important in terms of its effect on operations to be reported in chapter III. The majority of the Board of Directors were extremely interested in the project and wanted to exercise their responsibilities as Board members as effectively as possible. One of our project development staff group strongly defended the position that the Board should hire the Executive Director, and that the Executive Director should then have complete authority and responsibility for the administration of the project. A number of Board members were equally adamant about having a voice in key decisions before they were made. The outcome was a set of agreements concerning what decisions needed to be reviewed and acted upon by Board Committees or by the Board as a whole. These are spelled out in Section II of chapter III where the Commissions to the Board Committees are outlined. In general, most of these agreements fostered both the objectives of good management and effective Board involvement, however, in the personnel area the agreements carried a heavy price because the Personnel Committee insisted on approving all Director and Manager level appointments and in effect exercised inordinate control over terminations at all levels. While most of the Board Committee relationships were constructive and productive, TRY was not able to solve the broader problems of Board-staff relationships through the Personnel Committee. The basic problem, in our opinion, was the need for a much more specific statement of the functions of the committee in relation to the management of the project.

Organization Plan

The organization plan went through a variety of revisions as we sought a model that would be functional and also economically defensible. The final proposal to the Board of Directors called


Board of Directors
Executive Director
Deputy Executive Director
Vocational Training Director
Life-Skills Education Director
Youth Services Director
Systems Devel. & Eval. Director
Administration & Personnel Director
Finance Director

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for two Deputy Directors, one for Program and one for Administration. The Board Personnel Committee objected to this design and recommended that there be one Negro Deputy Director who would balance the white Executive Director. This had the effect of making service functions of equal importance with program operation functions and of removing critically important center of authority and supervision for program coordination. By the time the problem was corrected in September, 1968, with the Board and The U.S. Office of Education approving the position of Program Director, irreparable damage had been done. The final Table of Organization appears in the accompanying chart.

Management Planning Evaluation Replanning Process

The master plan for the TRY project was the proposal. The proposal was an unusually complete and detailed document, but did not attempt to schedule or place priorities. Planning for the TRY project was tied to the projected availability of facilities, the scheduled employment of staff and the project intake of trainees. Detailed planning was to be laid out by each division six months in advance. Detailed plans were to be presented every three months so that in no case would detailed planning be less than three months ahead of actual operations. A part of each of these detailed plans was to be a Critical Path Schedule which would highlight priorities, show the interrelationships between major steps in each major unit development, and present a time schedule with options in case certain more difficult steps took more time.

Linking the detailed six month plans with day to day operations was to be accomplished through senior staff meetings and through the presentation of weekly Objectives Reports from each division director which would give the status on the major areas on his critical path schedule. Each of the managers under the division director was also expected to file a weekly objectives report concerning his area of responsibility.

Copies of the Objectives Reports were to be shared with the funding sources and the Board of Directors to help them keep abreast of project developments.

Policy Development

Planning for policy development was an essential part of the TRY management design. Detailed policies needed to be worked out in three areas: finance, personnel and program. The assistance of a systems group from a highly experienced C. P. A. firm was sought to help develop the financial operating policies. The TRY Personnel Director was given responsibility for drafting the Personnel Policy with copies of a number of different policies from social agencies and anti-poverty programs to draw upon. Since the program policies would be unique to the TRY operation a committee of division directors was established to develop these policies.

CHAPTER THREE

THE DEVELOPMENT AND OPERATION OF THE DEMONSTRATION-RESEARCH PHASE OF PROJECT TRY

MARCH 1964 - MARCH 1968

A. Proposal Development
B. Developing The Corporation
C. Negotiating The Contract
D. Building The Institution
E. Establishing The Demonstration
F. Research Operations - Critical Incidents And Issues
G. Efforts To Start A Program Data Feedback System
H. Termination Of The Research-Demonstration Phase

A. PROPOSAL DEVELOPMENT

Introduction

The purpose of this section is to describe from the beginning the evolution of the TRY Project. While there are many other routes by which an idea can become a fully operational project, our experience points up many problems which are common to all such efforts and, therefore, may be of value to others who will follow suit. Most particularly, this experience shows the almost insurmountable problems of dealing with potential funding agencies and the strategies we used in attempting to deal with them. Recommendations from this experience will be found in Chapter Five.

Background Of The TRY Proposal Development

The sponsor for the development of the TRY proposal was the YMCA of Greater New York. Prior to the development of the TRY project, the YMCA developed and operated a number of programs for disadvantaged youth. Two of these programs, The YMCA Youth and Work Project and The YMCA OMAT-MDT Project, served as pilot programs for Project TRY. The YMCA Youth and Work Project, (1962-1966) was a comprehensive program for high school dropouts which offered 16 weeks of training in auto mechanics, machine shop practices, remedial reading and math, and counseling and work experience. The Project was studied by Youth Research, Inc. under a grant from The Ford Foundation. The YMCA OMAT-MDT Project (February 1964-June 1965) was a demonstration-research project to develop and test out programmed instructional training materials for high school dropouts in four areas: reading, math, auto mechanics and machine shop methods. The Final Report on this project is an excellent introduction to the TRY Project and is available from the U.S. Department of Labor.

TRY Proposal Development (March 1964 - June 1965)

Plans for the TRY proposal began early in the spring of 1964. They grew out of experience with the YMCA Youth and Work Project which showed us that a large comprehensive educational and follow through effort was necessary. In June a planning grant was awarded by the Board of Directors of the YMCA to the Vocational Service Center Branch for the development of a feasibility study and a preliminary plan. The financial contribution of the YMCA to the development of the TRY proposal was in excess of $50,000.

During the summer of 1964 a community advisory committee was organized. In September, the YMCA Board of Directors authorized full development of the initial plan for an urban residential training program. Approval and support of the TRY proposal was given by the YMCA and Youth-In-Action, the then newly established planning arm of the New York City Anti-Poverty Board located in Bedford-Stuyvesant. In November the TRY plan was reviewed by the New York City Anti-Poverty Board. In December a preliminary draft of the full proposal was submitted to the Job Corps (Title 1A of the Economic Opportunity Act). Owing to policy requirements of the Job Corps (national recruitment, use of military facilities, the separation of training from placement) it was determined that the proposal should be submitted instead under Title II of the Economic Opportunity Act and through several other departments as a demonstration and research project.

In January and February of 1965 the TRY proposal was again reviewed by the staff of the New York City Anti-Poverty Board. In February, with the approval of the New York City Anti-Poverty Board, the TRY proposal was reviewed by the U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity and it was suggested that the TRY program might be supported jointly by the Office of Economic Opportunity, the Office of Education, and the Office of Manpower Automation and Training of the U.S. Department of Labor. In March a preliminary meeting was held with representatives of the three Federal Offices who recommended that a complete detailed proposal be submitted. In April a planning grant of $42,270 was approved by the New York City Anti-Poverty Board so that the final TRY proposal might be completed and negotiated. In June the proposal write-up was completed and submitted under the title, TRAINING RESOURCES FOR YOUTH - BROOKLYN U.S.A. (275 pp.)

Relationships Established By TRY

In the Bedford-Stuyvesant Area of Brooklyn, a TRY Advisory Committee of 25 community leaders was established in the summer of 1964. This group met frequently from July 1964-August 1965 and was deeply involved in reviewing plans and the proposal itself. It also nominated community representatives for membership on the TRY Board of Directors.

The Board of Directors and the staff of Youth-In-Action, Inc., the Anti-Poverty Research and Planning Unit in Bedford-Stuyvesant, endorsed the TRY program as a special training program for 500 to 1,000 youths, aged 17-21, per year. The Board of Directors and the staff of the Central Brooklyn Coordinating Council reviewed and endorsed the TRY program. The TRY Project was also reviewed and endorsed by the Board of Directors and staff of the Urban League in Brooklyn, the Bedford-Stuyvesant Block Associations, the Ministers Movement of Bedford-Stuyvesant.

The trainees participating in the YMCA Youth and Work project reviewed and made suggestions for the TRY program.

The preliminary plan of the TRY program was reviewed several times by the staff of the New York City Anti-Poverty Board. Specifically, the Staff Director of the Anti-Poverty Operations Board staff commented favorably on the design of the Project. The community Council of Greater New York also reviewed and endorsed the TRY program.

An all-day conference to review the program design of the TRY proposal was held by TRY in 1964. It was attended by professional leaders in education, research, and program design for deprived youth. Adminstrators and professors of key departments at Teachers College-Columbia University, N.Y.U., CCNY, Brooklyn College, and Pratt Institute reviewed the TRY program, and each institution indicated a desire to cooperate in various phases of the project. The Chancellor of the University of the City of New York, who is also a leader of a new consortium of universities to study urban educational problems, reviewed the TRY program and wrote a letter of support for the Project. Also, members of the National Committee on the Employment of Youth reviewed and made contributions to the TRY proposal.

Several major oil companies reviewed the TRY program and offered to cooperate in various phases of the project, including the training and placement of trainees. A large manufacturing corporation, The Philco Ford Corporation, submitted a proposal to assist in the vocational and work experience training of youth in the TRY Project. A large food service corporation, Interstate United Corporation, submitted a proposal to assist in the vocational training and work experience of youth in the TRY Project. Several manufacturers of business machines reviewed the TRY program and engaged in discussions as to their possible involvement in the Project.

Proposal Development Contributors

The Training Resources for Youth proposal was primarily the work of Winthrop R. Adkins, Ph.D., Sidney Rosenberg, Ph.D., and Paul H. Sharar. Substantive contributions to the thinking were made by Russell N. Service, Timothy P. Dineen, James D. Wynne, Allan Williams, Jules Sokolsky, Mary Plimpton and Elliott G. Young. It is important to note that an advisory committee of young men from the YMCA Youth and Work Project made important contributions to the program plan.

The detailed budget proposal and financial system was developed under the guidance of Jerome F. Katcher, assisted by Valeriano Guttierrez.

The research design was developed by Winthrop R. Adkins, Ph. D. and Sidney Rosenberg, Ph. D. with assistance from Timothy P. Dineen, Ph. D., and James D. Wynne.

Assisting in the development and review of this proposal were the members of the TRY community Advisory Committee: Leo A. Dyce, Chairman; Rev. Henri M. Deas, Robert M. Totton, and Louis J. Warner, Vice-Chairmen; Mrs. Louis J. Warner, Secretary; and Bertram L. Baker, Dr. Aaron Brown, Dr. Vernal G. Cave, Mrs. Shirley Chisholm, Egbert A. Craig, Jr., Hon. J. Daniel Diggs, Mrs. Evelyn Dixson, Lemuel L. Foster, Hardy R. Franklin, Arthur L. Funn, Albert Gorlin, Austin W. Henry, Hon. Thomas R. Jones, Rev. William A. Jones, Rabbi Benjamin Krietman, F. Levi Lord, Rev. Benjamin Lowry, Hon. Franklin W. Mortin, Jr., Raymond Murphy, Edward J. Robeson, Charles T. Stewart, J. McLain Stewart, Edwin F. Taylor, Rev. Sandy R. Ray, Rev. Gardner C. Taylor, William C. Thompson, Mrs. Myrtle Whitmore, Hon. Oliver D. Williams, and Herbert B. Woodman.

The proposal was developed under the direction of a special committee of the Board of Directors of the YMCA of Greater New York: Bernard L. Gladieux and Herbert B. Woodman, Co-chairmen, with Robert S. Curtiss, Rev. Henri M. Deas, Rear Adm. Edwin B. Dexter (ret.), Leo A. Dyce, John Howes, Leonard Quigley, Hon. Samuel R. Pierce, Jr., Ewing W. Reilley, Constantine Sidamon-Eristoff, Nelson Sykes, Dr. John J. Theobald, Robert M. Totton, George C. Watt, and Hon. O. D. Williams. Ex officio: Alfred H. Howell, Gayle J. Lathrop, Robert S. Johnson, and William Howes.

Major assistance was given to the development effort by McKinsey and Company which contributed the publication of the proposal, by Price Waterhouse which published the budget, and by the firm of Cravath, Swain and Moore which contributed all the legal services necessary to set up the corporation.

B. DEVELOPING THE CORPORATION

The Corporation and the Board

Since every organization is dependent upon its management for establishing priorities and facilitating the decision making process, and since the TRY management organization design was an effort to meet and deal with many new situations, a section on the development of the corporate structure is appropriate.

Based on previous experience in Bedford-Stuyvesant we were deeply aware that the community was highly resentful of programs that were developed outside the community and then imposed upon it. The TRY Project was fortunate in having an important social agency, the Bedford YMCA, as its community institutional base during the development and negotiation period. Also the fact that we had two pilot projects actually in operation during the development period added to the sense of community identity. Additional emphasis was placed on building a strong community base, when in the fall of 1964 the Economic Opportunity Act was passed requiring "maximum feasible participation of the poor" in every aspect of new programs.

In advance of the Economic Opportunity Act the TRY Development group took the first step of setting up a Community Advisory Committee in July of 1964, made up of 36 persons, the large majority of whom lived or worked in Bedford-Stuyvesant.

In early 1965 when it was determined that TRY would not be an Urban Job Corps Center under Title 1A of the Economic Opportunity Act, but rather would be a jointly funded effort of several agencies, a decision had to be made regarding the corporate structure under which the project would operate. Several options were considered: 1) the project could continue as a separate operation under the corporate structure of the YMCA of Greater New York 2) TRY could be run by a joint sponsorship between the YMCA and one or several universities 3) TRY could come under the Community Action Program in the community, Youth In Action or 4) TRY could be set up as an independent non-profit membership corporation.

At a joint meeting of the YMCA Board Committee on TRY and the Community Advisory Committee held on April 27, 1965, it was determined that TRY should be an independent corporation with a

Board of Directors made up primarily of persons who lived or worked in the Bedford-Stuyvesant community. On June 8, 1965, with the endorsement of the Board of Directors of the YMCA of Greater New York and the TRY Community Advisory Committee steps were taken to establish TRY as a corporation with the following persons as members: Henri M. Deas, Edwin B. Dexter, Leo A. Dyce, Bernard L. Gladieux, Franklin W. Morton, Jr., V. Simpson Turner, Thomas R. Jones, and Herbert B. Woodman.

The decision to form an independent corporation was reached for both practical and theoretical reasons. It was decided not to continue under the YMCA primarily because of loyalty to principle of local control of programs, and secondarily because the size of the project would have required inefficient double staffing for financial and business functions in both Brooklyn and the Headquarters Office. It was decided not to enter into a joint sponsorship because most programs so sponsored were having difficulty at that time. The choice of coming under the CAP Program was rejected because the local unit had changed leadership several times during its development period and did not at that time appear stable enough in either its organizational structure or its financing to offer a realistic basis for operation.

The positive reasons for forming an independent corporation were overwhelming: 1) the project would be controlled by representatives of the community 2) there would be quick and direct access to the decision making group by project management 3) since TRY was seeking primarily research funds there was better probability of funding as an independent corporation, thus more funds would come into the community and there would be no conflict with regular programs over funds because TRY's funding would come from separate sources which would be distributed on a national basis.

While TRY's corporate life was viewed as a five year temporary existence, the Community Advisory Committee made a strong statement in September 1964, "In our opinion, the establishment of the TRY project ought to be seen as a permanent institution in our community; with a view toward service as a preventative measure for future citizens. At present, TRY's main purpose is to correct and improve the life of the disadvantaged. If this position is accepted, it seems of great importance that we, the members of the Advisory Committee, take a major role in the development and administration of the TRY program."

On August 22, 1965 Training Resources for Youth, Inc. received its charter from the State of New York, and on October 11, 1965 the organizing meeting of the Board of Directors took place.

The primary purposes of the corporation as stated in the charter were:

(1) To conduct by itself or in conjunction with other persons or organizations of all types, including governmental agencies, educational and vocational training programs for youth and adults and, in connection therewith, to provide a comprehensive educational environment in which individuals can learn vocational, social and personal skills which are essential to living and functioning effectively in American society and to becoming responsible and self-reliant citizens;

(2) Through research, experimentation, testing and evaluation, to develop new methods, techniques and curricula for educating or training persons from under-privileged or disrupted social and economic environments;

(3) To discover and define in specific terms the particular educational problems which must be overcome in the educational and vocational training of such persons, and in so doing to find solutions to such problems which may be applied by others;

(4) To define the roles to be played by professional persons, such as educators and psychologists, and non-professional persons in the field of education, vocational training and social work, and to provide training for such persons;

(5) To aid in obtaining other services required by disadvantaged youth from duly authorized and qualified persons or agencies, and to act as a coordinating agency with respect to the related or complementary activities of other private or community organizations and programs, and to cooperate with appropriate governmental agencies in carrying out their programs pursuant to federal or state or municipal laws; and

(6) To collect, evaluate, publish and summarize research data, statistics and other information growing out of its activities, and to disseminate such data, statistics and information for the benefit of appropriate other persons, organizations or governmental agencies.

The Board of Directors of the new corporation was composed of the following persons:

David Baclini Brooklyn, N. Y.
President, Baclini Corporation, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Dr. Aaron Brown Brooklyn, N. Y.
Member, N. Y. C. Bd. of Education Spec. Asst. to the Provost,
L. I. U. Brooklyn Center, Zeckendorf Campus, Brooklyn

Warren J. Bunn St. Albans, N. Y.
International Representative, Atomic & Chemical Workers Union

Dr. Vernal G. Cave Brooklyn, N. Y.
Physician, Brooklyn

Rev. Ithiel Clemmons Hollis L. I., N. Y.
Minister, First Church of God in Christ, Brooklyn

Rev. Henri M. Deas Brooklyn, N. Y. (Deceased)
Minister, Methodist Church, Brooklyn

R/Adm (USN) Ret.
Edwin B. Dexter New York, N. Y.
Executive Secretary, N. Y. Cocoa Exchange Inc., New York

Mrs. Evelyn Dixson Brooklyn, N. Y.
Businesswoman

Leo A. Dyce Brooklyn, N. Y.
Field Representative, Federal Housing Authority

Lemuel L. Foster New York, N. Y.
Investment Counselor, Investment Planning Corp. New York

Stanley A. Frankel Scarsdale, N. Y.
Director of Public Relations, Ogden Corp., New York

Bernard L. Gladieux Scarsdale, N. Y.
Partner, Knight & Gladieux, New York

Mrs. Helen Gourdine Brooklyn, N. Y.
Homemaker

Austin W. Henry Brooklyn, N. Y.
President, Bedford-Stuyvesant Block Assn., Brooklyn

Alfred H. Howell Riverdale, N. Y.
Vice President, First National City Bank, New York

John Howes Brooklyn, N. Y.
Insurance Underwriter, Public Service Mutual Home Life Insurance, New York

Hon. Thomas R. Jones Brooklyn, N. Y.
Judge, Civil Court, Brooklyn

Wilfred H. Kerr Hollis, L. I., N. Y.
Attorney, Martin, Wiltshire, Cambridge & Kerr, Brooklyn

Leon E. Modeste Brooklyn, N. Y.
Field Representative, Executive Council of the Episcopal Church, New York

Hon. Franklin W. Morton, Jr. Brooklyn, N. Y.
Judge, Civil Court, Brooklyn

Ewing Reilley New York
Director, McKinsey & Co., New York

Russell N. Service Hempstead, L. I., N. Y.
Associate V. P., YMCA Greater New York, New York

Paul H. Sharar Ridgewood, New Jersey
Executive Director, Training Resources for Youth, Inc., Brooklyn

Robert M. Totton Armon, N. Y.
Regional Manager, N. Y. Life Insurance Co., New York

Rev. V. Simpson Turner Brooklyn, N. Y.
Minister, Mt. Carmel Baptist Church, Brooklyn

Mrs. Bertha Diggs Warner Brooklyn, N. Y.
Licensed Real Estate Broker, Brooklyn

George C. Watt Short Hill, N. J.
Partner, Price, Waterhouse & Co., New York

Mrs. Myrtle Whitmore Brooklyn, N. Y.
Director, Carver Houses, New York

Dr. Allen V. Williams New York, N. Y.
Executive Director, NYS Psychological Assn., New York

Joney Williams Great Neck, New York
President, W. Williams Moving & Storage Co., Brooklyn

Herbert B. Woodman New York, N. Y.
Chairman, Board of Directors, Interchemical Corp., New York

The following additional members were elected to the Board of Directors after its organization:

Mrs. Bertha Angel Brooklyn, N. Y.
Western Union, New York

Neil Blake Brooklyn, N. Y.
Salesman, W. Williams Moving & Storage, Brooklyn

Raymond Murphy, Jr. East Orange, N. J.
Human Resources Administration, New York

Mr. Cecil J. North Mt. Kisco, N. Y.
Principal, McKinsey & Co., New York

Kenneth Whitlock Brooklyn, N. Y.
Director of Personnel, Institute of International Education, N. Y.

In January of 1966, the Committees of the Board of Directors were named. Their major functions were as follows:

Commission to the Executive Committee

The Executive Committee is empowered to act between the regular meetings of the Board of Directors and to take such actions as are necessary for the operation of the corporation. In addition, the Executive Committee is responsible for evaluating the participation of Board members and for nominating new members of the Board. Such evaluations are to take place at least once every six months.

Commission to the Program Committee

In accordance with the charter and by-laws of the TRY Corporation, the Program Committee will assist the Board in establishing broad policy guidelines relating to the education of youth in the TRY project which will enable staff to develop specific programs to implement and evaluate them. Its specific functions are as follows:

1. To keep informed about the educational program activities of the project through regular conferences with staff program leadership consisting of the Associate Executive Director for Program & Development, The Director of Research, Manager of Life-Skills, Manager of Vocational Education and the Manager of Recreation & Physical Education.

2. To evaluate the implementation of educational goals and priorities as stated in the TRY proposal and as established by the board in light of actual performance within the project.

3. To recommend to the Board such changes or modifications of goals and priorities for Educational Programs as are appropriate.

4. To pay particular attention to program activities which take place in the community and to recommend to the Board program policy changes which would encourage the more efficient utilization of Community Resources.

5. In cooperation with the Community Relations Committee to help interpret the TRY program to the people of the community of Bedford-Stuyvesant and to other relevant individuals and groups.

6. To assist in the recruitment of interested citizens as volunteers who will cooperate with staff in various phases of program operations.

7. To confer with the Associate Executive Director for Program & Development on an ad hoc basis as specific educational problems requiring policy clarifications arise.

8. To meet with representatives of other committees of the Board to insure coordination of effort as the need for critical policy decisions arise. In addition, to meet at least twice each

year with the Finance and Audit Committee so that there is adequate coordination of educational and financial policy.

Commission to the Personnel Committee

To establish broad policy guidelines which enable staff to develop a set of personnel policies, procedures and related fringe benefits for employees so that TRY will be able to recruit and retain the best and most capable staff to develop and carry out the goals of the program.

To interpret to the local and broader community the personnel policies of the project when this is necessary to assure the integrity of the program, and to interpret to the Board and staff the implications of personnel policies for the community and staff morale. Its specific functions are as follows:

1. To hire the Executive Director upon approval of the Board of Directors, and to provide for the employment of the rest of the staff by the Executive Director.

2. To make sure all professional staff meet the requirements for employment in accordance with established job qualifications.

3. To review personnel policies annually and make recommendations for such changes as may be desirable.

4. To deal with personnel situations which may arise from time to time and for which the Executive staff request Board level decisions.

Commission to the Finance and Audit Committee

In accordance with the charter and by-laws of the corporation, to act in an advisory capacity to staff in developing and carrying out the financial policy of the TRY Corporation, and to act as the conduit by which the Board of Directors is kept informed of its financial activities.

The committee's scope covers all financial activities of TRY:

1. To meet periodically, at the discretion of the committee chairman (but at least once every two months).

2. To study fiscal policies of the organization and make recommendations to The Executive Director.

3. To review progress of financial system development and current conditions of fiscal activities.

4. To review budgets of anticipated expenditures and to pass on or make recommendations for changes; and submit final budgets to Board of Directors for approval.

5. To aid in development of procedures for making contracts through competitive bids.

6. To act as an approving authority for the Board of Directors on expenditures exceeding a stated amount (to be established by finance & audit committee).

7. To make recommendation to Board of Directors to engage independent public accountants as auditors and to see that periodic audits are carried out. Further, to review audit reports from the independent public accountants and federal auditors.

8. To meet (at least semi-annually) with the program committee for the purpose of evaluating overall effectiveness of the entire program in terms of its stated goals.

Commission to the Community Relations Committee

To establish and maintain contacts with the Bedford-Stuyvesant community for the purpose of promoting the best image of TRY, to facilitate the implementation of the TRY program in the community with the best resources possible and to provide feedback from the community which will enable TRY to achieve its over-all goals and at the same time to be continually responsive to community needs and concerns. Its specific functions are as follows:

1. To meet regularly with key community leaders and opinion makers to discuss, interpret and receive reactions about the TRY program in the community.

2. To speak before community audiences and on radio and television to effect positive community relations concerning the TRY program.

3. To interpret to the TRY Board of Directors major issues and alternatives which should be of concern to the project.

Commission to the Research and Development Committee

The basic purpose of the Committee for Research and Development is to assist the Board of Directors in understanding and utilizing the research information coming from the TRY project. Specifically, its responsibilities are:

1. To inform itself about the research design for the TRY project and to keep in touch with research developments through regular conferances with the staff research leadership.

2. To advise the Board of Directors with regard to policies to help implement the research design.

3. To cooperate with the Program Committee to the Board in establishing effective inter-relationships between the Program and Research elements to the project.

4. To serve as a liason with community groups and organizations concerning research outcomes of the project.

The Committees of the Board were viewed as the primary means by which the board members would be involved in the work of the corporation. A report on the then recently completed investigation of Mobilization for Youth was circulated to the TRY Committees so that they could see the vital importance of knowing what was going on in the corporation and also so that they would have a better notion of the range of concerns which funding sources had about demonstration-research programs. The Committees of the Board proceeded actively to carry out their responsibilities.

C. NEGOTIATING THE CONTRACT

Building From Experience

The TRY staff had a moderate amount of experience in negotiating contracts with city, state and federal agencies prior to entering into negotiations with the federal government for the TRY contract itself. This experience included negotiating the first Demonstration Research Contract under The Manpower Act in New York State which took some 14 months from date of first submission. The state contract negotiations prepared us for the degree of complexity in dealing with agencies at several levels, for confronting the problems presented by changing guidelines, and for dealing with the conflicts of policy between the various departments of government which had to approve the overall project.

This section of the report is included not so much to recount history as to try to specify those things in the negotiating process which may have larger relevance for other projects.

As was noted in the section on Proposal Development, it took a little more than a year from the conception of the central ideas of the project until the final proposal and budget were submitted to the appropriate funding agencies. The major lessons from this period were several: firstly, we found it most important to design a program to meet the educational needs of the trainees independently before seeking ways of having it funded in a coherent fashion. We have seen many instances of groups attempting to build programs to fit the funding opportunities of specific laws who have suffered from this approach. In far too many cases this process has resulted in poor programming and poor economy because most of the laws are written with little programmatic sensitivity to what it actually takes to operate an effective project. Designing the program first is doubly important. First of all, proceeding this way gives the program an integrity of its own because the basic concepts have to be thought out and related to one another. In this process useful challenges are presented to the presuppositions which underlie the enabling legislative acts and their accompanying guidelines. This confrontation on issues and principles is extremely important in helping to reshape national policies. The second reason that this procedure is important is that there has been a gross underestimation of the amount of human and financial resources necessary to carry out social change programs. Designing the program first allows for an orderly development of budget to support the program. When one starts with a limited amount of funds and with a ratio of dollars per trainee and other predetermined factors it is nearly impossible to come up with a viable operational program. The most outstanding example of this is perhaps in the Job Corps which had a guideline of $4500 per trainee. For the first two years of operation cost factors per trainee were easily double that amount and these figures did not include the entire cost of serving the Job Corpsman.

The second major lesson of the Proposal Development period was that the development of a program to deal with realities of a given situation is best done in the heart of an on-going experience working with the target population. The TRY staff was fortunate to have two pilot programs going in its immediate vicinity during its development. These included the Bedford Counseling Center and the YMCA Youth and Work Project. The development staff, therefore had regular interaction with program and development staffs working with high school dropouts in the heart of the Bedford-Stuyvesant area. This close proximity also provided an opportunity for TRY development staff to meet with trainees and to discuss some of the basic concepts involved in the overall project with them. Funding sources are well advised to make it possible for projects to have pilot phases in which to evolve and test out some of the basic concepts involved in the program before going to a larger scale demonstration effort.

A third lesson from the Proposal Development period is that once the program is designed, one must search very carefully for potential funding sources. The TRY experience in seeking funding sources for a comprehensive program uncovered the fact that there is no one piece of federal legislation under which this comprehensive educational, demonstration, research and development project could be funded. As was noted in the previous section, TRY first approached Job Corps on the recommendation of the President's Task Force on Poverty in June, 1964. However, between that date and the date of the TRY Job Corps submission six months later the Job Corps had developed a whole series of rules and regulations which virtually made it impossible for a comprehensive program to be carried out in the heart of a poverty stricken community.

The Search for Funding

In researching all relevant legislation we found no single act could fund the comprehensive program proposed. We were, however, able to piece together from three separate legislative acts a potential basis for underwriting a comprehensive effort. The resources identified were titled 4C of the Vocational Education Act of 1963, section 207 of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 and in sections 102, 202, and 231 of The Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962 as amended. In light of the complexity of this matter it may be useful to other projects to quote the sections of the law here.

Section 4C of the Vocational Education Act states:

> "10%um of the sums appropriated pursuant to section 2 for each fiscal year shall be used by the Commissioner to make grants to colleges and universities and other public or non-profit private agencies and institutions, to state boards, and with the approval of the appropriate state board, to local educational agencies to pay part of the cost of research and training programs and of experimental developmental, or pilot programs developed by such institutions, boards, or agencies, and designed to meet the special vocational educational needs of youths, particularly youths in economically depressed communities who have academic, social-economic, or other handicaps that prevent them from succeeding in regular vocational educational programs."

Section 207 of The Economic Opportunity Act states:

> "the Director is authorized to conduct, or to make grants, to enter into contracts with institutions of higher education or other appropriate public agencies or private organizations for the conduct of research, training, and demonstrations pertaining to the purposes of this part. Expenditures under this section in any fiscal year shall not exceed 15%um of the sums appropriated or allocated for such year to carry out the purposes of this part."

Section 102, subsection 6 of The Manpower Development and Training Act states:

> "The Secretary of Labor shall establish a program of experimental developmental, demonstration and pilot projects through grants or contracts with public or private non-profit organizations or through contracts with other private organizations,

for the purpose of improving techniques and demonstrating the effectiveness of specialized methods in meeting the manpower, employment, and training problems of worker groups such as the long term unemployed, disadvantaged youth, displaced older workers, the handicapped, members of minority groups, and other similar groups. In carrying out this subsection, the Secretary of Labor shall where appropriate, consult with the Secretaries of Health, Education and Welfare, and Commerce, and the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunities. Where programs under this paragraph require institutional training appropriate arrangements for such training shall be agreed to by the Secretary of Labor and the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare. He shall also seek the advice of consultants with respect to the standards governing the adequacy and design of proposals and the ability of applicants, and the priority of projects in meeting the objectives of this act."

Section 202 of the same law has two relevant sections:

Subsection B states:
"Wherever appropriate the Secretary shall provide a special program for the testing, counseling, selection, and referral of youths, 16 years of age or older, for occupational training and further schooling, who because of inadequate educational background and work preparation are unable to qualify for work or obtain employment without such training and schooling."

Subsection I states:
"Whenever appropriate, the Secretary of Labor shall also refer for the attainment of basic educational skills those eligible persons who indicate their intention to, and will thereby be able to pursue courses of occupational training of a type of which there appears to be reasonable expectations of employment. Such referral shall be considered a referral for training within the meaning of the act."

Section 231, the other extremely relevant section of this law, states:
"The Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare shall, pursuant to the provisions of this title enter into agreements with states under which the appropriate State Vocational Education Agencies will undertake to provide training needed to equip persons referred to the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare by the Secretary of Labor pursuant to Section 202,

> where the occupations specified in the referrals, except that with respect to education to be provided pursuant to referrals under subsection B or I of section 202, the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare may make arrangements where the provision of the education to be provided under such subsection to other appropriate education agencies. Such state agencies shall provide for such training through public educational agencies or institutions or through arrangements with private educational or training institutions where such private institutions can provide equipment or services not available in public institutions, particularly for training and technical and sub-professional occupations, or where such institutions can at comparable cost, 1) provides substantially equivalent training, or 2) make possible an expanded use of the individual referral method or 3) aide in reducing more quickly unemployment or current or perspective manpower shortages."

As can be seen from reading the above sections of these three important laws, project development groups have to analyze these documents like Philadelphia lawyers in order to find channels for funding the many varied aspects of a comprehensive demonstration program. The TRY development staff identified the above sections as possible funding sources between early December, 1964, when the Job Corps prospect fizzled out and late January, 1965, when the TRY Board of Directors requested and received a conference with the Honorable Sargent Shriver, Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity.

The Possibility of Multiple Funding

At a conference held on February 4, 1965, Mr. Shriver conceded that other comprehensive models of youth training beyond that of the Job Corps were needed and at the close of this conference he felt that it might be possible to have the TRY project jointly funded by three federal agencies: The U.S. Office of Education, The U.S. Department of Labor and Office of Economic Opportunity.

A little more than a month later on March 23rd, the TRY development staff was invited to Washington for a conference with representatives from the three departments. At this meeting the representatives of the federal agencies stated that the ideas of the TRY proposal had been reviewed and that they would welcome a detailed proposal for a demonstration-research project as soon as it could be prepared.

With this good news the TRY staff returned to New York and approached the Anti-poverty Operations Board of the City of New York for a grant to fund the writing of the detailed proposal and to cover the cost for the negotiations estimated to run from April 15, 1965 to September 1, 1965. A grant of $41,000 was made effective April 15th and the detailed TRY proposal was completed and submitted on June 23, 1965.

Twenty-Two Reviews

Then began a year of frustrating negotiations with the three federal agencies and the search for the necessary supplemental approvals from City, State, and Federal Review Committees. During the period from July 1, 1965 to June 30, 1966, there were in all 22 formal reviews of the TRY proposal, 7 separate budgets were developed and a 100 page addenda to the 275 page proposal was prepared. In addition, the development staff had the responsibility for seeking five extensions to the original development grant from the City of New York to cover expenses during this protracted negotiating period.

The first review took place in August 1965, and was carried out by the Research Advisory Panel of the U.S. Office of Education Bureau of Research. Shortly thereafter we were informed that a technical Review Committee composed of staff from each of the proposed funding agencies was being created to work with the TRY development staff. The first meeting of the Review Committee with the TRY staff took place in October and the TRY staff was informed that the earliest date for contracting with the federal government would be December 1, 1965. A second meeting with the Review Committee was held in November and at this meeting the three agencies indicated strong interest in the proposal and indicated good faith in setting up the final contract negotiations which they now said could not take place before February 1st. The Review Committee also presented TRY project staff with a memorandum of 43 questions and recommended revisions in the TRY project design. The answers to these questions and recommendations comprised the 100 page addenda mentioned above. It was submitted in late December, 1965, together with yet another budget revision. The major issues were in the nature of class groupings and in a reduction in the ratio of personnel in supporting social services to the number of trainees, however, most of the matters had already been spelled out in considerable detail in the TRY Proposal.

In February, 1966, we learned that TRY had passed yet another Washington review and now was considered to be a "fundable" project. We also learned that the earliest date for contracting would be April, 1966.

During all of February and all of March we were unable to make further progress toward the contract table or to receive satisfactory answers as to why we were being delayed. This was an extremely crucial period for the development staff as the development grant was due to expire April 30th and there were all kinds of rumors of power plays in the community and at the city level to bring the TRY project under some larger umbrella.

The Breakthrough

Finally, in an act of desperation we requested a conference with top officials of the Office of Economic Opportunity to find out what the cause of the delay might be. This meeting was held on April 14th in New York and some 25 persons from Washington and the TRY Board of Directors as well as the development staff attended. All the frustrations of the negotiation appeared to culminate in this one meeting. The basic issues were the seeming intentional procrastination on the part of The Office of Economic Opportunity and the continued absence of any formal guidelines as to how the negotiations would be completed. One TRY Board member who had worked on many high level assignments with several federal departments said that he was amazed at the complexity, the cumbersomeness, and the seeming impossibility of trying to put a program into operation. Having always dealt at the policy level prior to this, he now felt that strong measures should be taken to see that the intended policies were carried out with far greater speed and efficiency at the local level.

This conference seemed to break the logjam. Three major reviews of the TRY project were completed in the next three weeks and approval of the project by The U.S. Commissioner of Education was confirmed in writing on May 17, 1966, as follows:

May 17, 1966

"Mr. Paul H. Sharar
Executive Director
Training Resources for Youth, Inc.

Dear Mr. Sharar:

We are pleased to inform you that the U.S. Commissioner of Education has approved your proposal submitted to the Bureau of Research, No. 5-1312, Project TRY, for negotiation of a mutually acceptable award.

No reimbursement of funds will be made by the Office of Education for expenditures incurred prior to the effective date of the award.

It is our understanding that this proposal will be jointly funded by the U.S. Office of Education, the Department of Labor, and the Office of Economic Opportunity. Due to this unusual arrangement there are still some final administrative issues to be settled in connection with the funding of this multi-agency project. However, we anticipate a resolution of these problems within the very near future. You will be contacted by a member of our Contracts and Construction Service in the very near future to negotiate an agreement. Completion and transmittal of the formal agreement, however, may require several weeks.

We are pleased that your efforts have met with success and we wish to extend our appreciation in participating in this major effort to ameliorate a critical social problem.

Sincerely yours,

David S. Bushnell
Director, Division of Adult
and Vocational Research"

The Inter-Agency Agreement

From the very beginning the Finance Committee of the TRY Board of Directors had been deeply concerned about the matter of financial accountability for a project which was to receive funds from three federal departments under three different contracts with different regulations. Originally it was hoped that there would be a unified budget under the Job Corps, but when that possibility failed to develop, plans had to be made to deal with the problem of conflicting policies and regulations. The TRY staff had expressed to the federal officials on numerous occasions their deep concern about this matter and had pointed to the difficulties that Mobilization for Youth had in accounting for its funds due to the same reason.

Partially as a result of this intensive inquiry into better ways of promoting financial and program accountability and partly due to governmental interest in economic program administration a plan was evolved among the federal departments for an inter-agency agreement on the part of The U.S. Office of Education, The U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity and The U.S. Department of Labor whereby the U.S. Office of Education was to be designated as the agency to handle the contracts with the TRY project and to manage the effort for the other two cooperating agencies. This development was one of the highly important administrative decisions with regard to the TRY project and deserves a duplication in any instance where funds from several departments or several pieces of legislation are required to carry out a project. It is efficient administratively, financially sound, and highly beneficial to the front-line program operation. Because of the importance of this approach a copy of the agreement is included here:

INTER-AGENCY AGREEMENT
Between
DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION,
AND WELFARE
U.S. OFFICE OF EDUCATION
THE DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
AND
THE OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY

To Fund A Demonstration Youth Center Project To Be Operated By Training Resources For Youth, Inc. In Bedford-Stuyvesant, Brooklyn, New York

Inter-agency Agreement between the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, U.S. Office of Education, the Department of Labor, and the Office of Economic Opportunity to fund the Training Resources for Youth, Inc., Project.

WHEREAS, the Congress has recognized the need for Federal programs to alleviate the plight of the poor by developing new techniques to provide training and educational opportunities to disadvantaged youths and WHEREAS, Training Resources for Youth, Inc. (TRY), a non-profit organization incorporated under the laws of the State of New York at 1121 Bedford Avenue, Brooklyn, New York 11216, has submitted a proposal to conduct a demonstration and training center which offers an exceptional opportunity for the Federal agencies designated to accomplish tasks levied upon them to develop new techniques for training and educating such youth and to perform research thereon--to the Department of Labor under the Manpower Development Training Act of 1962, as amended; to the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, U.S. Office of Education, under Section 4(c) of the Vocational Education Act of 1963; and Section 231 of the Manpower Development Training Act of 1962, as amended, and to the Office of Economic Opportunity under Section 207 of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, as amended; and WHEREAS, it is deemed to be in the best interests of these agencies and of the project for said center to be conducted under one agreement with TRY to be jointly funded by these agencies.

NOW THEREFORE, this agreement, dated June 17, 1966, is entered into by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education, the Department of Labor, Office of Manpower Policy, Evaluation and Research, and the Office of Economic Opportunity for the following purposes:

(1) To establish the procedures pursuant to which a contract to conduct the subject training center and for a grant under Section 4(c) of the Vocational Education Act will be negotiated with Training Resources for Youth, Inc.

(2) To describe the method pursuant to which the agencies will provide for the payment of performance under the respective parts thereof for which each has responsibility; none of which funds of any other agency are to be used to implement Office of Economic Opportunity functions.

(3) To describe the functions to be performed by each of these agencies in the administration of, and the technical surveillance of performance under the aforementioned agreement.

I CONTRACT AND GRANT NEGOTIATION

The parties hereto agree that the Contracting Officer of the Office of Education shall have the authority and responsibility for negotiating and executing a cost reimbursement contract in accordance with the Federal Property and Administrative Service Act of 1949, as amended and the applicable regulations thereunder with Training Resources for Youth, Inc. to conduct a demonstration training center in the Bedford-Stuyvesant section of Brooklyn, New York, for 600 out-of-school, out-of-work male youths, and for arranging for a grant under Section 4(c) of the Vocational Education Act of 1963. Said center shall be conducted generally in accordance with the proposal dated July 15, 1965, as amended on December 17, 1965. For purposes of arriving at an estimated cost of each part of said project, the parties hereto agree to commit the funds needed as follows:

OE - not to exceed	1,521,641	Direct Costs
OMPER - not to exceed	96,000	Direct Costs, Title I
OMPER - not to exceed	1,332,282[1]	Direct Costs, Title II breakdown further-1C Part A OMPER & Sec. 231 funds
OEO - not to exceed	655,940	Direct Costs
OEO - not to exceed	344,060	Indirect Costs

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[1] This amount shared between OMPER and OE under MDTA, P.L. 89-15.

On the basis of the contract amounts as finally negotiated funds shall be allocated according to the areas of responsibility for which each agency is charged, as described in Exhibit A annexed hereto and made a part hereof. It is understood that the funds for direct costs committed by each of the parties shall be used only for reimbursement of TRY's costs allocable to that parties area of responsibility as shown in Exhibit A. It is further agreed that each agency shall be represented during negotiations by personnel authorized to commit their respective agencies. Prior to final execution of the agreement by the Contracting and Grant Officer, the agreement document as negotiated shall be reviewed as to correctness in respect to the commitments made during negotiations and each agency will provide written affirmation that the document is in accord with what was negotiated.

II TRANSFER OF FUNDS

Upon execution of the subject agreement, OMPER and OEO agree to transfer to OE the respective funds committed and allocated pursuant to paragraph I above to the extent necessary to fund their part of the project, for use of OE in paying for performance under the agreement. However, it is anticipated that the negotiated agreement will require TRY to bill OE in such a manner than the Contract and Grant Officer will be able to determine which agency funds should be used to reimburse TRY's costs for the performance of tasks as described in Exhibit A. Provisional payments upon monthly billings may be provided. Quarterly progress reports, which shall be reviewed by the Project Officers, will be required. In the event of a written finding by a Project Officer within 30 days of receipt of the report upon which the finding is based that performance has been unsatisfactory, no payment shall be made to TRY subsequent to such finding until the Project Officer has informed the Contract and Grant Officer in writing that TRY has satisfied the objections upon which the finding of unsatisfactory performance was made.

III CONTRACT AND GRANT ADMINISTRATION AND TECHNICAL SURVEILLANCE

The parties agree that the Contract and Grant Officer shall perform administrative tasks on behalf of all three agencies; technical surveillance of performance shall be the tasks of the respective Project Officers in the areas of responsibility described in Exhibit A. It is further agreed that should the agency representatives authorized to commit their agency or the Project Officers designated to carry out technical surveillance work terminate their employment from the date of this agreement until the termination of their respective part of the project, the employer agency will immediately designate by name and in writing with a copy to each agency a replacement for such representative or Project Officer.

IV. This agreement is made in contemplation that TRY will obtain financing under Section 231 of the Manpower Development Training Act or some other source for training youths who are to be served under the project. In order to avoid delay, the parties hereto consider it to be in the public interest to proceed immediately with the negotiation of the arrangements provided for under this agreement. Funds will not be made available under the contracts and grant to be negotiated pursuant to this agreement until arrangements have been made for training under Section 231 of the MDTA or from some other source, provided, however, that funds in an amount not exceeding $200,000, allocated to the activities for which used, may be made available to TRY for the purpose of paying salaries and current essential administrative expenses of TRY during the period prior to the completion of the training arrangements (such period not to exceed 3 months). Each party to this agreement will have an opportunity to determine whether such training arrangements are adequate for the purposes of the projects here involved before final contracts and grants are signed.

This agreement shall be in effect from the date first entered above until June 30, 1967.

EXHIBIT A

The parties hereto agree that the following represent the respective areas of responsibility under the proposed contract with TRY.

AGENCY	AREA
Office of Education	Life skills evaluation and development, etc.
Department of Labor	Youth services--recruitment and intake, etc.
Office of Economic Opportunity	Youth services--residence, social services, health services, etc.
	Indirect costs (allowable costs not allocable to an area of responsibility).

Further Delays

Even with drafts of the Inter-agency Agreement available the TRY project still had great difficulty getting the necessary clearances from the three federal departments and their related regional and state offices as can be seen from the following correspondence:

> "Aaron Brown, Ph. D. May 13, 1966
> Chairman, Board of Directors
> Training Resources for Youth, Inc.
>
> Dear Doctor Brown:
>
> Thank you for your letter of May 4.
>
> I have been informed by my staff that the Office of Education has been delegated responsibility to negotiate a contract with TRY for all three agencies involved -- the Office of Education, the Department of Labor and the Office of Economic Opportunity. A single contract will be written, although substantive review rests with each of the three agencies.
>
> The Office of Economic Opportunity has turned over all material pertaining to this program to the Contracts Office of the Office of Education. We have been assured that the Office of Education is making every effort to expedite the contract.
>
> Sincerely,
> Theodore M. Berry
> Director, Community Action Program"

> "Mr. David Bushnell May 24, 1966
> Director, Division of Adult and Vocational Research
>
> Dear Mr. Bushnell:
>
> We were most pleased to receive your letter of May 17th indicating that the Commissioner of Education had approved the TRY Project. This approval represents a real milestone in the development of this project, which began with a submission to the Federal Government of a preliminary proposal on June 10, 1964. This is one of the few projects where I think we all feel that the submittal and negotiation process stands as a contribution in its own right, to finding new answers to the

> old problem of overcoming the limitations of the various individual Acts.
>
> It is most important that we move ahead rapidly with the negotiations as to the budget. The New York City Anti-Poverty Operations Board which has now given us five extensions on our original development grant, because we told them each time that we were on the brink of having a final determination from the Federal Government, has told us directly that we cannot expect funding from York City beyond June 30th. Therefore, we must complete negotiations in time to receive and deposit a "letter of credit" from the Federal Government by June 30th. Unfortunately, we are not like a university or school system which has an on-going program and financial reserve to call upon, we have no other funds but those provided by the City. We urgently request a conference with your Contracts Office to begin negotiations and, if possible, to resolve the problem of funding for the month of July before June 15th so that a smooth change-over can be worked out.
>
> We appreciate all that you and Miss Denemark have done to simplify the complex inter-agency relationships which originally seemed necessary. I am sure that there are still additional matters which must be covered, particularly with regard to the Manpower Act portions of the proposal. We will be most happy to cooperate with your office in resolving any of these matters.
>
> Best Wishes.
>
> Sincerely yours,
>
> Paul H. Sharar
> Executive Director"

Daily telephone calls to federal and state offices provided no new information, and the TRY staff sensed that there must be some new review that was delaying action. Out of desperation, we wrote directly to the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare.

"Dr. John Gardner June 3, 1966
Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare

Dear Dr. Gardner:

We wish to bring an urgent matter to your attention.

On May 17th we received a letter stating that the U.S. Commissioner of Education has approved our Training Resources for Youth (TRY) Project for negotiation of a mutually acceptable award. This major four million dollar demonstration-research project has been under development for more than two years. It was formally submitted to the U.S. Office of Education, the U.S. Department of Labor and the U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity for joint funding more than a year ago. We have been in protracted negotiations with all three departments over this long period. The date for completing negotiations and entering into contracts has been pushed back five times from the original target date of December, 1965. Since last July, the TRY Project has been reviewed and approved by no less than 18 governmental review panels and policy groups at the City, state and federal levels.

Our critical problem is that the financing of this developmental effort will terminate June 30th. More than $300,000 of private and New York City funds have been invested to date. We have received four extensions to the Development Grant since December on the argument that a decision and contracts would come very shortly. In order to receive an extension for the month of June, we submitted a copy of the May 17th letter informing us of the U.S. Commissioner of Education's decision. Frankly, our argument is worn very thin. We have been told by the New York City Anti-Poverty Operations Board that they cannot extend our Development Grant beyond June 30th, unless there is real evidence that contracts are finalized and that a date for the commencement of federal funding has been set.

We understand from our legal counsel that an inter-agency agreement has been reached and approved by the U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity and the U.S. Department of Labor so that the U.S. Office of Education can negotiate and contract for them. It has now been more than a month since this inter-agency agreement was completed and the Commissioner gave his approval for negotiations. We have been in almost daily contact with various officials concerning the initiation of negotiations. There has been no response from the Contracts Office to date.

Mr. Yourman and Dr. Bushnell, of your Department; Mr. Fogelman, of the U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity; and Mr. Brandwein, from the U.S. Department of Labor seem to have developed a creative and practical new model for inter-agency cooperation which may well serve as a pattern for future programs and legislation. It seems most unfortunate that we cannot come directly to grips with whatever factors are holding things up.

If we are forced to dissolve the development staff which has generated this program and brought it to a point where all the major operational and systems development problems have been resolved; if the eminent national Research Advisory Panel which has agreed to work on this project is to be dismissed; and if the Corporation which has been set up to administer this program is to be closed down solely due to failure to face procedural issues openly and quickly, this would be a serious blow not only to this community, but also to the desperately needed testing out of new comprehensive educational systems.

We strongly urge your assistance to see that negotiations are begun.

Sincerely yours,

Paul H. Sharar
Executive Director"

As a result of this letter to Secretary Gardner, arrangements were made for us to confer with high level officials in Washington. This meeting, in turn, triggered several other meetings at both the state and federal levels. The major remaining hurdle appeared to be what role the New York State Department of Vocational Education would play. We wrote Dr. John Leslie as follows:

"Dr. John Leslie June 6, 1966
Director, N. Y. State Department of Education

Dear Dr. Leslie:

This is to confirm our telephone conversation of today, regarding the critical importance of the New York State Department of Vocational Education making an official determination as to whether or not it will handle the contract negotiations and funding of the vocational training portion of the Training Resources for Youth demonstration-research program.

We have received a letter from the U. S. Office of Education, indication that the U. S. Commissioner of Education has approved the overall project. We also understand that the U. S. Office of Education has been legally cleared to handle the contract negotiations and funding control for the U. S. Office of Economic Opportunity portion of the Project. What is needed now is a clear designation as to how the Manpower Act portion of the Project will be handled.

I talked with Carl Benenati of your staff two weeks ago concerning this matter and he stated that he thought a determination could be made in a week or two. I spoke with Mr. Benenati just before talking with you, and he stated that a memorandum had been sent to your office concerning this matter last week just prior to your leaving for the Governors' Conference. I understand that you will attempt to clear up this matter tomorrow.

As you know, our proposal has been under review for the past year in all the various departments at the City, state and federal levels. We deeply appreciate your statement of interest last October at the meeting held at the State Office of Economic Opportunity. Unfortunately, we now face a terrific deadline problem in that we must complete our negotiations for all portions of the Project not later than the 24th of this month, if we are to receive federal funding when our development contract ends on June 30th.

I am attempting to keep all the various offices that are related to this Project informed as to the steps that are being taken and therefore will send you copies of relevant correspondence from here on in.

We would greatly appreciate your giving this matter the highest priority.

Best Wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Paul H. Sharar
Executive Director"

As a result of this letter, several meetings were held in Albany to work out all the details of the TRY vocational training program previously submitted.

Contract Negotiations

Finally on June 28, 1966, TRY received the welcomed news that contract negotiations would start the following day. The TRY negotiating team flew to Washington on the evening of June 28th and worked on into the wee small hours identifying those points where some cuts still could be made in the sixth edition of the TRY budget which amounted to $4,700,000. Every line in the budget had been justified with backup material and comparison data so the staff was well prepared for the sessions which began about 11 AM the following morning.

It was learned at the beginning of the negotiations that the inter-agency agreement had finally been signed by all agencies that very morning and this was one of the reasons for the delay. We also learned from the federal contracting representatives that they had two major demands to make of the TRY project. The first was that the number of trainees was to be increased from 500 to 600 in order to get a better cost effective ratio. The second was in order to avoid holding contract negotiations at the close of the federal fiscal year that this contract would be for 15 months instead of the usual 12 months. These demands seemed very reasonable to the TRY negotiating team because all of us were highly aware that the War on Poverty was under attack from a number of quarters and that it would be important to come up to the refunding question as close as possible to the dates when Congress would be passing the Appropriations Act in the fall of 1967.

With these basic outlines established the negotiations got underway. The federal negotiators stated that the government desired TRY to have adequate resources to carry out this ambitious project and also to have reasonable management flexibility under the terms of the contract to implement the proposed program. The TRY contract negotiating team suggested that a useful way of approaching the overall budgeting problem for the project would be to start with personnel necessary to develop the institution and then add personnel as necessary to operate program, scheduling both groups as to allow adequate time for staff training before trainees were brought into the project. The negotiating team also suggested a staging of the project effort so that there would be a fairly uniform buildup in the number of trainees with the first trainees serving as a testout or experimental group. Additional trainees would be added as staff was found and trained to provide for them. This suggestion was accepted and a detailed manning chart with accompanying salary levels was worked out between noon and 2 AM the following morning through continuing negotiations. The TRY negotiating team was successful in maintaining all but five staff positions proposed in the original budget. Salary levels were reasonably close to the ones suggested in our submission budget.

The second day of negotiations dealt mainly with the Vocational Training Program and other associated costs related to the program. A major breakthrough occurred on this day when the State Department of Vocational Education agreed to allow the federal government full supervision of the TRY Vocational Training Program and thus allowed TRY to come under one united contract form with the U. S. Office of Education.

At 10 PM on June 30th, the last day of the federal fiscal year, a letter of contract was signed between the U. S. Office of Education and Training Resources for Youth committing $4. 3 million dollars for 15 months to the TRY program. The budget which had been under development and review for nearly two years was finally negotiated in a total of 36 hours.

Happy but exhausted, the TRY negotiating team returned to New York on Friday, July 1st with a momentous task ahead of it which included working up the details for the contract, finding and hiring over 200 staff, making arrangements for the renovation of over 100,000 sq. ft. of facility, working out arrangements with subcontractors, and setting up a major demonstration-research development program. The negotiating team recognized that the odds were mighty stiff, yet if one had to hammer a comprehensive program out of three separate federal laws and the tough raw material of Bedford-Stuyvesant and then force it into the limited time span allowed by federal contracting, we had to take big risks and back those risks with as much resource as possible.

Hindsight is always far clearer than foresight. The most serious mistakes made in negotiating the budget were the acceptance of the goals: 1) that TRY could find, hire and train a large staff to perform new and difficult roles in a two to three months period of time; 2) that staff training on an intensive basis with skillful trainers would not be necessary because the salary levels was competitive with the New York Public School System and should attract talented personnel capable of carrying out the functions without training; 3) that the program could start without the curriculum and the research effort being fairly firmly in place and 4) that the amount of time necessary for maintenance of satisfactory contractual and financial relationships with the funding sources would be relatively small and that the time of top administrative staff could be devoted primarily to the programatic aspects of the project. The reality on each of these major points was diametrically opposed to the assumptions we accepted in the contract negotiation.

Beyond the budget negotiations and the signing of the letter of contract which officially created the TRY project on June 30, 1966, key members of the TRY staff spent more than a month of full-time effort each in reviewing and negotiating the detailed contract with the U.S. Office of Education. A study in October, 1966 showed that during the first three months of the projects' life the Executive Director, the Director of Finance, and the Staff Attorney had spent an average of 164 hours each, working in the contracting negotiation area. In addition, numerous other staff persons had been involved in the detailed review of contracts and budgets prior to signing of the formal contracts which occurred in late August. The primary lessons from the detail contracting period were: 1) the necessity for a careful review of all the boiler plate and special provisions written in the government contracts to see that they do not conflict with one another and put the operating project in an unsupportable position; 2) to make sure that matters of utmost importance to the project but of lesser importance to the government are spelled out in detail in the contract so that at a later time the project is not dependent upon verbal understandings or personal contacts to resolve misunderstandings around financial matters, issues of contract, and operational procedures.

The major negotiations with the federal government regarding contract matters were completed in August. The subcontracts with the Philco Corporation, Brass Rail Restaurants and the lease with the YMCA were worked out in September and in October of 1966. Thus the First Quarter of the projects' life was largely spent in finalizing contract matters and it was essential to have these elements in place before the program itself could be developed and put into action.

D. BUILDING THE INSTITUTION

Introduction

Until July 1, 1966, TRY, Inc. was a paper corporation with no real assets, only a handful of temporary staff members, no facility, and with none of the institutional relationships necessary to carry on a program. The task facing the new corporation was to build an organization which would be stable and yet flexible enough to support the educational and research development necessary to carry out the educational and research programs described in the proposals and embodied in the contract.

During the long two year period of developing and negotiating the TRY proposal we had, of necessity, to adopt a "grant-getting psychology". With this frame of reference one is willing to fight for adequate funding of major or essential components, but be more flexible about the realities of program operations, the area of cost compromise, or time schedules, and presumed "non-essential" personnel. Once the funding is achieved the task dramatically shifts. The frame of reference becomes one of management, not negotiation, and one adopts a "production psychology".

In examining our contract in the cold light of the new reality we found, as many other anti-poverty projects had found, that we had been party to an agreement which demanded ideal conditions, great effort, considerable luck and a reservoir of good will, to carry out. In effect we had agreed, within a year, to recruit, select and train 200 specialized staff, develop two comprehensive curricula (Vocational and Life-Skills), purchase nearly a million dollars of equipment and supplies, construct a complex research system, negotiate several major subcontrasts, develop effective working relationships with the Board, community and other educational and social institutions, recruit, select and begin training 600 young men, and completely renovate our training facilities. While we recognized the large risks involved, the government assured us that, although they could write only a 15 month contract, they would make such a major initial investment only if the project was considered as a 3 to 5 year investment in research and development.

Given our time schedule to perform the complex tasks described above, it was inevitable that the project would experience great stress and strain, that mistakes would be made, that conflicts would develop, even if overall federal policy about research and development had not substantially changed.

Almost from the very beginning management conflicts arose. A series of seemingly separate but very crucial issues had to be resolved in the first months of operation. With the passage of time it would become clearer that the positions taken on these early issues represented two major diverging sets of management concerns; institutional and programmatic. One part of the management team, by the nature of their positions, and the immediate project necessities, had responsibility for relations with the Board and the community, contractual relationships with Washington and sub-contractors, and the administration of personnel, building rehabilitation, and purchasing operations. Others on the management team had the responsibility for developing the projects' educational and research capability, which involved insuring that trained staff, curriculum, materials and research systems were sufficient to meet minimally adequate standards for demonstration-research. As will be described later, the changes in the organization chart required by the Board, and the shift in federal priorities removed the coordinating mechanisms and support necessary to integrate these two sets of concerns. The point of intersection of conflict between the groups representing these two sets of concerns were a series of management decisions involving primarily schedules for the intake of trainees, and reflected serious differences of opinion as to our state of readiness for carrying out minimally adequate education and training. While the institution-oriented group felt obliged in many instances to make administrative decisions which would satisfy the essentially non-programmatic but real concerns of Washington and the Board, the program-oriented group felt obliged to contest many of these decisions, on the basis that they often did not adequately take into account the time and development effort needed to meet the educational needs of trainees and the demonstration and research purposes for which TRY presumably was funded. Therefore, many of the most serious conflicts, expressing these two sets of concerns, centered around the adequacy of space for training, training materials and purchasing procedures, policies and schedules for hiring and training teaching staff, personnel policies, the opportunity for pilot experimentation and support for the research testing program.

All of these issues ultimately centered on the necessity to have reasonable time for adequate preparation of an educational setting that would have some hope of succeeding in meeting the difficult educational needs of disadvantaged adolescents, even if this meant a radical revision of the trainee intake schedule or in the size and scope of the program.

As described below, the two groups and the concerns they represented became increasingly divergent through the fall of 1966 and the spring of 1967. The insensitivity of both the Board of Directors and the Washington Project officials to the real issues in this conflict, groups whose function it was to oversee the health and welfare of the project as a whole, together with an increasing tendency to interpret these conflicts basically as expressions of racial or personality differences was a major theme in the unfolding story of TRY.

The Facility

In 1964 the TRY development staff carried out an extensive survey of potential facilities in Brooklyn which might house the TRY program. Taken into consideration were: the Navy Yard, industrial plants, armories, hotels, Governor's Island, ships, brownstone houses and YMCA buildings. Of all these possibilities the most adaptable, least expensive to renovate and operate, the most directly available, and the best located facility was the Bedford YMCA building and the attached YMCA Trade School. The fact that there were four separate buildings in the Bedford YMCA complex meant that the YMCA could continue its program in one building while transferring its residence and trade school programs to other nearby locations. The YMCA of Greater New York which had helped to underwrite the development of the TRY project in an amount in excess of $100,000, also paid for the architectural and mechanical drawings necessary for the renovation of the buildings for TRY purposes and then took a mortgage on the property to pay for the $500,000 renovation effort all at no expense to the government. This commitment of resource with no guarantee of repayment was a major contribution to the success of the TRY project.

The Bedford YMCA building and Trade School were particularly adaptable to the TRY programs of Life-Skills Education and Vocational Training. The main building provided space for eighteen Life-Skills group meeting rooms capable of accommodating fifteen persons each. Nearby was office space for the Life-Skills Educators where they could hold counseling interviews. The main building also housed the Youth Services programs including physical education (with gym and pool), recreation, health services, legal services, intake, recruitment and placement. The basement provided space for a modern kitchen, cafeteria and food service training facility. The fifth floor of the building housed the administrative offices, personnel, finance and research. The three story trade school building and annex housed most of the six vocational training programs. In all, nearly 100,000 square feet of space was utilized by the program.

The TRY Board of Directors and the YMCA made an aggressive effort to see that as many Negro craftsman as possible were employed in the renovation effort. The $500,000 being invested in the renovation represented one of the major building programs in the area that year. The YMCA made a particular effort to see that Negro owned construction firsm bid on the job and two such companies responded along with seven other firms. All of the general contractors bidding on the job were informed that integrated work forces would be required in each of the skilled trades employed on the job. While the Negro owned firms were not among the three lowest bidders on the job, the fact that they were invited served notice on the community that TRY and the YMCA desired to foster local industry. With regard to the work force, all of the construction trades on the job were integrated. Pressure was put on both the contractor and the unions to see that as many Negroes as possible were employed. Both the Workers's Defense League and the Urban League were informed as to our goals and were urged to recommend Negro craftsmen to the job.

Getting the building plans approved by the New York City Building Department was a major task. Two sets of revisions were submitted before approval was received. Even so, three precious months passed before bids could be let.

Construction was begun in November, 1966, and completed on the day promised by the general contractor, June 28, 1967.

During the first year of operation the TRY project rented space in the Brooklyn Central YMCA located approximately one mile from the Bedford facility. In January of 1967, TRY was able to begin using the Trade School building for course work, but had to continue to use two facilities for training until the main building was completed in June.

Recruiting The Staff

Perhaps the most difficult and yet important job faced by the leadership of the project was to hire and train a staff which would be capable of carrying out the ambitious goals and complex tasks of the TRY project. As indicated previously the basic TRY project design sought to change the traditional roles of virtually all categories of educational personnel. Following both an industrial and school model we considered administrators and supervisors to be organizational managers. We also specifically wanted to test whether the roles of teacher and counselor could be combined. We created a new category of personnel on the sub-professional level called Youth Advisors. We sought to employ skilled workers with no prior teaching experience as vocational instructors. We attempted to combine curriculum development and research functions so that all developed programs would be capable of being evaluated. In short, our basic program design required that we be able to recruit a staff that was quite unlike any that would be found in the usual school system. The necessity of creating new roles required that we recruit trained and experienced professionals who were flexible enough to abandon previous familiar but ineffective roles and to adapt to new role requirements, which would of necessity be imperfectly delineated, in an institutional environment whose production schedule would inevitably create considerable interpersonal stress.

In addition to the above we were committed to hiring at all levels of the organization a larger proportion of Negroes than whites. TRY was conceived as an opportunity to train staff of all levels, of both races, in innovative educational methods. By design, certain job categories such as the Life-Skill educator required that we hire primarily male Negro teachers and counselors who, it was presumed, would be more likely than others to establish effective relations with trainees and to inspire them by example. It was well recognized that for TRY to have any chance of success in the community of Bedford-Stuyvesant, and if in fact we were to achieve our goal of creating a bridge between the ghetto community and the resources of the city, that we had to have visible effective Negro leadership in the organization. One of our major interests in establishing TRY within the community of Bedford-Stuyvesant, rather than in more remote locations such as former army bases as was the case with the Job Corp program, was to create an institution that would give evidence of society's concern in the community. Therefore, our success as an organization from the start rested on our ability to find, recruit and effectively employ Negro managers, professionals, sub-professionals and non-professionals, the majority of whom would reside in Bedford-Stuyvesant.

It was presumed that in view of the interesting nature of this demonstration research project at this time of national attention upon the problems of poverty, we would have no difficulty recruiting blacks and whites at all levels for the organization. We knew that we would be competing in recruitment with many other newly established organizations, but felt that our high salaries and the large numbers of qualified personnel in the New York City area would enable us to engage in intelligently selective recruitment practices.

Our contract specified that within one year from funding we would be required to rehabilitate the building that would be used for a training center, hire some 250 staff and admit 600 trainees for training. In addition of course we would have to prepare our staff training curriculum, our trainee curriculum in Life-Skills education, vocational training and recreation and we would have to develop our research capabilities. These are discussed in other sections. We recognized that the recruitment and training of large numbers of staff would be a most difficult task, but realized that we had no choice but to do our best in accomplishing this within the time alloted, if we were to get sufficient trainees in trainees in training during the contract period. The schedule of staff recruitment was geared to the schedule of trainee intake so that our first efforts would be to find appropriate directors, managers, supervisors and administrators to build the structure of the organization, and then to recruit line personnel staged according to the trainee intake schedule to permit one month of staff training prior to commencement of teaching activities.

From the earliest days of the TRY development effort almost all of the individuals we talked to showed a great interest in the project. Most were horrified by the massiveness of the unmet training problem and heartened that we had an interesting plan for a new kind of training center. As a result, from the very beginning of the project we received numerous expressions of interest in working in the project. We began accumulating resumes from individuals in the community, from fellow professionals (both black and white) and from numerous people who merely heard about the project and were inquiring about employment possibilities.

We recognized that the best time of the year to recruit teachers was between January and May in any given year. In March, 1966, when we realized that these valuable recruiting months were rapidly passing we decided to make a major recruiting attempt for teachers during April. We therefore put ads in appropriate professional and public publications and were immediately deluged by a large number of applications from teachers.

As a result we soon had a large backlog of personnel applications. During the development period we hired a personnel assistant with sound experience in processing large numbers of applications and attempted to lay the base for hiring, if we were successful in getting the money for the project. In addition, staff prepared job descriptions for those categories of personnel (i. e. Life-Skills educators) who were to have a new experimental role, and also for director and managerial personnel.

By the end of June when we were finally successful in obtaining the 4. 3 million dollars for the project we had to field increasingly angry letters from disappointed applicants who were forced by pressure of time to make other commitments. On the day the project was funded we had over 400 applications in our files. Many of these individuals had by this time obtained employment elsewhere, but a large number were persons from the community of Bedford-Stuyvesant or Negro professionals who had seen the TRY project as a new exciting opportunity to improve the educational opportunities for the ghetto dweller.

The effect of the late funding on our personnel operations was twofold: firstly, we were faced with a public relations problem of great magnitude which eventually was to seriously undermine the credibility of project TRY in the community and secondly, we were severely handicapped by not being able to hire well-trained professionals and administrators of both races who by this time had started employment elsewhere. There is no question in the minds of those who examined the applications during this and subsequent periods that the delay in funding caused us to lose out on the majority of the best qualified candidates. The significance of this for what eventually happened to the project cannot be underestimated.

Most experienced professionals who heard about our 15 month contract for TRY and promised three to five year funding life of the project considered us to be very fortunate since most contracts ran only for a twelve month period. Yet when one considers the fact that we missed our prime recruiting time for professionals and could not spend any of our federal money for recruiting until two months after the contract was awarded (September, 1965) one realizes that the fifteen month contract did not give us any great advantage. Although we could offer most applicants somewhat higher salaries than they had previously been making and a benefit package of around 10 to 15%, we could only guarantee employment for a maximum of one year. For most it was less than a year.

The majority of the most experienced professionals we talked to had accumulated seniority, retirement monies and position in their current jobs. In effect, we were asking them to take a major personal risk involving some considerable disruption to their normal career pattern and could not offer them more than a few months employment before they might have to be again looking for another position. In spite of the great interest in the TRY educational design and the spirit of the times, we lost many able professionals of both races who had other offers of stable employment without the considerable personal risk. As will be described later some very able professionals did accept positions with us because they were excited about the prospects of creating new approaches to education, but it was also true that these more able professionals could not be retained when after successive crises it became apparent that TRY was not going to achieve its innovative mission.

One very important conclusion should be drawn from this experience namely: Even the most talented and dedicated professionals will not come to a promising project unless there is a guarantee of employment greater than one year. Year to year funding beginning with the fiscal year in July almost insured that the project could not recruit the needed capable individuals in the 35 to 45 year age range, but in fact had to either hire less capable individuals or those who by virtue of their youth or age could afford to take the risks inherent in such a temporary project.

From July until September 1966, the main problems faced by the personnel department were to reinterview the backlog of candidates who were still interested and route them to the appropriate director, to establish new recruitment sources for additional professionals and non-professionals, and to set up a system for categorizing, filing and following up on candidates for positions. From the beginning, the decision to hire was the responsibility of the individual director with the approval of the personnel director, the executive director and the personnel committee. On the shoulders of the already busy director also fell the responsibility for locating and recruiting professionals in his area on the assumption that he knew best resources of personnel in his profession.

During the summer months, prior to the appointment of the personnel director the planning staff set up a system for categorizing and processing applicants, interviewed many individuals, recruited numerous new candidates and established a provisional personnel policy. When the new personnel director was hired, he unfortunately decided to set up his own system for processing applications thereby losing a month's crucial time and instead of revising existing personnel policies hired consultants to write a new one. After one month had passed it was clear that he was not going to be able to handle a job which was becoming increasingly difficult as past problems remained unsolved and new problems emerged. The project then sought to recruit and hire a new personnel director, but it took two months to accomplish this task because of our rather cumbersome hiring procedures. Several well qualified candidates were rejected primarily they were white and also it was felt that only a Negro personnel director could gain the confidence of the community. During this interim period responsibility for the personnel office was carried on a part-time basis by a senior project official who attempted once again to set up new procedures for processing applications and who also attempted to construct a new personnel policy. For three weeks during this period the majority of the staff whose primary task was to develop curriculum and research systems spent their time conducting interviews with applicants so that our large personnel application backlog could be eliminated.

When the permanent new personnel director was hired in February the damage had already been done; there was still no thorough system for processing applications, and TRY still had a large backlog of applications and great clamor from all directors for assistance in finding key personnel for unfilled positions. By this time the personnel office had assumed a defensive posture both in talking with perspective applicants for jobs and with responsible officials within the project who desired service. Numerous daily conflicts between that office and almost every other division of the project erupted as complex procedures in hiring candidates were set up without consultation and were changed without notice. As a result frequently three to four weeks elapsed between the time a director made the decision to hire a candidate and the time his papers were processed for employment.

The personnel committee was established as one of the standing committees of the Board of Directors. Its job was to set policy for the hiring of personnel within the project. Because of the nature of the project and our commitment to hiring a bi-racial staff at all levels it dealt with some sensitive issues. It became quite clear early in the project that although the personnel committee was composed of both Negro and white board members, the majority saw their primary role as that of a watch dog committee which would oversee personnel practices and insure that directors in the project would live up to their responsibilities for seeking and hiring Negro staff members. It had been agreed by top leadership in the project and various board committees that the desired percentage ratio of Negros to whites and Puerto Ricans would be 60-40 in all levels of the project. The rationale was that both board and staff had dedicated themselves to creating an inter-racial project and it was felt that this would be possible only if the proposed portions of both races were approximately equal with an intended overbalance of Negro staff members.

The personnel committee also saw itself as one of the main agents of the Board of Directors for insuring that community needs and interests were protected. The committee was greatly concerned about the large backlog of applicants from members of the community who had not received appropriate notice about their status. Since members of the committee were direct recipients of many complaints from community applicants, they became increasingly insistent that TRY put its personnel office in order. As time passed and the problems remained unsolved, the committee pressed harder for the staff to find Negroes to fill top jobs.

The directors, harrassed by multiple problems and the pressure of time, attempted as best they could to find and recruit Negroes who possessed the requisite qualifications. It should be stated that the qualifications for all positions were described in terms of certain academic degrees or equivalent experience. It was recognized that many competent Negroes had not had the opportunity to gain professional degrees could function as professionals nonetheless. The irony was that while staff members were attempting very hard to find qualified Negro professionals through unfamilar sources, members of the Board presumedly were able to refer only a few promising candidates and, instead of expanding the search, put pressure on the staff to hire untrained or inexperienced members of the community for jobs which required specialized talents.

This conflict created bad feeling and distrust between staff and the personnel committee. It seemed to some staff members that members of the Board felt that when staff members stressed that they were looking for competent individuals that this was, ipso facto, a reflection of racial prejudice on the part of the staff members. Some staff members, on the other hand, felt pressure not to reject individual who were referred personally by Board members. The goodwill that had been built up between staff and Board members was seriously undermined. The personnel committee instituted a series of complicated procedures for the hiring of new employees. It insisted that it had the right to interview and hire or reject director level personnel, and that it would have the freedom to interview and reject managerial level personnel. This meant that a director might spend weeks in screening applications, interviewing candidates, and selling candidates on the project only to be reversed. After this had happened several times, the directors felt greatly frustrated and the personnel committee became increasingly suspicious of staff. As a direct result, TRY lost a number of key staff persons. The situation did not improve until June, 1967, but by then the damage had been done.

In spite of the many problems in recruiting the staff the TRY project was successful in building the staff from ten to one hundred fifty in the first nine months of operation. The distribution of the staff at that time was as follows:

Chart of Racial Distribution of Staff

March, 1967

Job Category	Staff	Negro	White	Other
Directors and Associates	12	6	6	--
Managers	19	14	5	--
Professionals	50	35	14	1
Youth Advisors	25	19	--	6
Office and Maintenance	44	36	4	4
Total:	150	110	29	11

By November, 1967, the time of the next study, the staff had increased to a total of 206, and was distributed as follows:

Job Category	Staff	Negro	White	Other
Directors and Associates	12	10	2	--
Managers	18	15	3	--
Professionals	83	65	15	3
Youth Advisors	29	27	--	2
Office and Maintenance	64	57	3	4
Total:	206	174	23	9

Financial And Business Operations

Business and financial operations frequently are the least interesting and most routine aspects of the project's operation, however in TRY's case, there were a number of valuable developments in this area which should be reported upon briefly.

The first and most important of these was the development of an unusually sound and effective system of financial procedures. We knew from our previous experience in dealing with City, state and federal funding sources in the pilot projects that preceded TRY and also from our knowledge of the accounting difficulties experienced by other projects around the city that a thorough set of financial procedures and a hard-nosed implementation of those procedures was critical from the very beginning of the project. The elements in the financial system were basicly quite simple. The first step was the development of a budget for each operational department of the project that clearly reflected the objectives and range of responsibilities of that department. All costs related to that department were to be included in its budget. Budget categories for each departments included the following: personnel, contract services, space costs and rental, equipment and furniture, and other costs. Salaries and the number of personnel in each department were controlled on a line by line basis, but in the other areas each department's budget was controlled by major cost categories thus allowing flexibility within each area for changes in program. Furthermore, shifts of up to 10% of the total amount of each category were possible with notification to the funding agency. Further modifications were possible with the written approval of the funding agency. The second major element in the financial system was the budget control and purchasing system. All requests for purchases required the department manager or director's approval depending upon level and once this was completed it was required that the budget manager approve the appropriation as being within the limits prescribed by the budget. With the budget director's approval the request then went to procurement. The manager of purchasing was the only person authorized to purchase for the project and his signature had to be augmented by that of the executive director on all purchases in excess of $1,000. Purchases could be made from a list of approved vendors of frequently purchased items and from specified vendors when particular books or pieces of equipment were needed as a specific part of the training program. Individual items in excess of $2,500 or purchase orders to one vendor in excess of that amount required a bidding procedure with three or more vendors being asked to submit their bids. The third element in the procedure was reporting and analysis. Each month departmental financial statements were produced so that each manager and director could see the financial position of his department. These financial reports together with supporting documentations were also reviewed by the Finance Committee of the Board of Directors each month so that there was full disclosure on a regular basis of the financial position of the organization. Copies of all financial documents were submitted to funding agencies on a monthly basis so that they too would be informed of the financial position of the organization.

Funding arrangements for the operation of the project also worked out very well. The project was able to establish a cash advance from the federal agencies to cover approximately two months of operation. Monthly financial reports were submitted by the 14th of the following month with a request for reimbursement of actual expenditures, and reimbursement usually was forthcoming within a two week period. Thus the project usually had operating capital for a 30 day period in advance of actual operations.

This type of arrangement for funding was possible because the TRY project had worked out in a very careful way not only its financial procedures but also its arrangements for physical inventories and auditing. Again the TRY project benefited from the problems incurred by other projects and we were able to show the benefits of carrying out a detailed audit of the project at the end of the first twelve months of operation rather than by waiting until the end of the first contract period. The CPA firm selected by TRY was the S. D. Leidersdorf firm which had considerable experience in New York City dealing with anti-poverty agencies. Their excellent work in carrying out preliminary audit activities and filing recommendations with project management for tightening up on certain of the already well spelled out financial procedures aided us in the management of the project and supported our position with the federal government concerning the validity of the funding arrangement.

Another interesting development in the business operation of the project was the insurance and staff benefit arrangement which were made. The serious problems which several anti-poverty agencies in New York City experienced just prior to the funding of TRY made it extremely difficult for the TRY project to obtain the various forms of insurance it needed to operate on a sound businesslike basis. Fire insurance was extremely difficult to find and the bonding of employees who would be handling financial matters was also extremely difficult. Burglary and theft insurance never were obtainable. During this particular period TRY was also aware that staff benefit programs had been cancelled for some projects. We, therefore, were intensely interested in setting up an insurance and staff benefit program which would offer maximum protection for the organization and for individual employees.

Primarily through the efforts of our Director of Finance a most unusual and successful solution to our insurance and staff benefit problems was developed. He was able to create a "marriage" between a large and highly successful outside insurance brokerage firm and a local negro-owed insurance brokerage firm which tied together contacts and successful relationships with the largest insurance firms with a thorough knowledge of local conditions and the types of arangements that were possible in a community like Bedford-Stuyvesant. The outcome of this "marriage" was that TRY was able to begin its operations with full insurance coverage and with a staff benefit package which was more advantageous to employees than any other project in the city. Within the 13% of salary benefit package TRY was able to provide hospitalization and medical services, a full major medical program, a term life insurance program equivalent to at least $10,000 per employee, and a salary continuation plan which provided up to 75% of one year's salary in the event of a disabling illness or accident. This benefit program was paid for 100% by TRY.

One of the objectives of the TRY project was to encourage local businesses through the purchase of supplies and equipment. However, the project had a major problem in achieving this goal because its contract with the federal government required that first preference in purchasing be given to the General Services Administration of the U.S. Government. Surprisingly, a number of local vendors were able to compete effectively with General Services Administration in terms of delivery time, or in terms of having available needed items which General Services Administration did not have in stock. We estimated that approximately one-third of the supplies and equipment for the TRY project were purchased from local vendors for an amount in excess of $300,000. In addition to the gains made by the local vendors from the project itself there was a substantial increase in purchasing power in the community from the more than $600,000 paid out in training allowances to TRY trainees during the contract period. In addition a significant amount of the nearly two million dollars in staff payroll during the twenty months of the contract was spent in the community.

While there are a number of other interesting aspects to the financial and business side of the TRY operation only one more will be mentioned. It has to do with the banking arrangements of the project. Shortly after the TRY project was funded a Negro-owned National Bank opened in the Bedford-Stuyvesant community. Since the TRY project wanted to do everything possible to increase mortgage money available to Negros and support for local businesses we arranged to transfer our funds to The Freedom National Bank as soon as the project was located in the community. This was done with the full approval of the funding sources. In addition to the primary objectives of this arrangement it was also possible to encourage TRY trainees to start saving programs and to utilize other services of the bank.

E. ESTABLISHING THE DEMONSTRATION

Overall Perspective

The TRY Demonstration-Research project was envisioned from the very beginning as a three to five year effort. The first year was seen as a preparation and build up period. During this time the permanent facility was to be renovated, the staff was to be recruited and trained, the first draft curriculum was to be prepared, and the first 600 trainees were to be brought into the program on a gradual basis. The second year was to be a continuation of the first year developmental efforts and during the second half of the second year trainees would be graduated and placed on a gradual basis as they completed their average twelve month long program. Also during the second year evaluations of the curriculum units would be made and revisions would be developed in light of both program and post program experiences of trainees. The third year was seen as a testout of the whole system with a second group of 600 trainees. Major emphasis during both the second and third year would be given to the development of new materials for education, to the refinement of staff training techniques and to exporting useful approaches and materials developed at TRY to other programs. The fourth and fifth years were seen as opportunities to concentrate on the development of many more curriculum units and for improvements in the counseling and feedback systems.

As it turned out the achievement of the first year's goals occurred in fifteen months instead of twelve. The $500,000 major renovation of the facility was completed in eight months from the time the contract was let. The recruitment, screening and employment of the nearly 250 staff associated with the program was completed in thirteen months. Educational materials and equipment were slow in being received, but were fairly complete by two months after the major facility was ready for occupancy. Questionnaires had been developed for the collection of intake information and a testing battery had to be selected for intake date purposes before the first trainees were admitted. Thus most of the essential elements of the demonstration were ready within the necessary time frame. This was a remarkable accomplishment in light of the pressures which almost tore the project apart during the first year.

PLANNED SCHEDULE	TRY Approved														END OF CONTRACT						
			Facility Rehabilitation																		
			Staff for First 120 Trainees																		
					Staff for Next 120 Trainees																
							Staff for Next 120 Trainees														
								Staff for Next 120 Trainees													
									Staff for Next 120 Trainees												
					Start 60 Trainees											First Graduates					
							Add 60 Trainees														
								Add 120 Trainees													
									Add 120 Trainees												
										Add 120 Trainees											
											Add 120 Trainees										
	1966						1967												1968		
	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb	
ACTUAL SCHEDULE	TRY Approved															Extension of Contract					END OF CONTRACT
		TRY Funded																			
				Building Plan Approved																	
					Facility Rehabilitation																
				Staff for First 60 Trainees																	
						Staff for Next 60 Trainees															
							Staff for Next 60 Trainees														
								Staff for Next 60 Trainees													
									Staff for Next 60 Trainees												
											Staff for Next 120 Trainees										
												Staff for Next 120 Trainees									
													Full Staff								
						Start 20 Trainees													First Grads		
							Add 40 Trainees														
								Add 60 Trainees													
										Add 70 Trainees											
											Add 80 Trainees										
												Add 60 Trainees									
													Add 140 Trainees								
														Add 140 Trainees							
															Add 120 Trainees						

The near termination of the entire project less than six months after it moved into its newly renovated main facility is a complex story. It is worth telling because it illuminates many facets of the problem of developing and carrying out a comprehensive integrated behavioral science research-demonstration effort. This will be the major focus of the remainder of this chapter.

Critical Schedules

A quick overview of projected and actual schedules gives the best perspective on the development of the TRY project. The top half of the chart on the opposite page gives the projected plan of buildup developed during contract negotiations in June, 1966. The bottom half shows the actual development of the project against the same time frame. The major causes for the variations between the plan and the actual development were 1) delays in the approval of the building renovation plan by the City of New York Building Department, 2) the TRY organization's inability to recruit, screen and employ capable instructional and supervisory staff rapidly enough, and 3) the sheer impossibility of generating, implementing, supervising evaluating and revising five major curriculum units with all the resources and variations needed within the first few months after the curriculum development group was employed.

The crucial point here is not to show how close we came to the planned schedule. Rather, it is to point out emphatically that we grossly underestimated the time necessary for certain key interrelated developments like staff selection, staff training, curriculum development and research instrumentation as noted earlier.

The Key Man

As noted in Chapter Two, Section C, the removal of the Program Director position from the Table of Organization had a major effect on the functioning of the entire organization. This created a situation in which the Director responsible for development was placed parallel with the Directors in charge of the major units of program: Life-Skills, Youth Services and Vocational Training. In essence, the parallel structure meant that the Directors had to work together as a team, be fairly consistent regarding goals and depend upon one another for follow-through on plans. In fact the Director of Research and Development, who had responsibility for the developmental aspects of the project, did not have the authority to compel compliance with the tight production schedule.

A most crucial link in the chain of management relationships was between the Director of Development and the Director of Life-Skills of Education. This relationship was most important because Life-Skills Education was the most innovative component in the TRY project. TRY was fortunate in recruiting for its Development staff an extremely able man to help set up the Life-Skills education program. Not only did this person have a thorough knowledge of the TRY program from his involvement in the development activity, but he also had a remarkable background of experience of work with disadvantaged youth in Bedford-Stuyvesant community. Unfortunately, within one month after the TRY project was funded our Director of Life-Skills was offered a permanent position in a government agency at a salary $5,000 above the top limit on his position at TRY. In light of both the opportunity and its permanence our Director of Life-Skills felt that he had to accept the more advantageous position.

Thus in a crucial startup period the TRY project lost a key man who proved almost impossible to replace. Persons connected with schools and universities had already signed their contracts for the coming year; persons associated with other projects either commanded higher salaries than TRY could offer or were playing such a crucial role in other projects that they felt obligated to stay and see them through. Had we been able to quickly replace the Director of Life-Skills it is conceivable that we could have proceeded more rapidly and efficiently to employ and train the Life-Skills staff. However, it is also true there was no way to replace the six months of involvement with the development of this innovative program and with the other key staff members who were responsible for carrying it out. The situation was not unlike the problem of finding a new quarterback during the first game of the season. The Director of Life-Skills probably more than any other Director on the staff had to bring credibility and relevancy as well as understanding and good judgment to this leadership role because trainees and staff alike had a "show me" attitude toward anything that purported to be education. The TRY organization's inability to find such a replacement created numerous problems during the ensuing year, and probably as much as any other factor, prevented the TRY organization from achieving its goals.

The deeper issue, of course, is the intense shortage of trained, experience, and aggressive Negro leadership. The facts are clear that projects, including demonstration-research projects, must grow their own leadership. The TRY design did not adequately

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take into account this fact. If it had, the design would have included a much longer buildup and development phase and would also have included a program of management training for all the executive personnel. In reality the missing key man may well have been the Director of Staff Training and Development.

Crisis In Black And White

The phrase Black Power purportedly was coined by James Meredith during his Mississippi March in June, 1966. While the phrase did not gain broad usage until 1967, the upheaval which marked the change in the Negro revolution from non-violent protest to militant action nevertheless was underway during 1966. In Brooklyn, CORE was taking a militant stand and elements within Youth In Action were pushing very hard to bring all organizations in the community under one black umbrella. Within the TRY project the Negro members of the Board of Directors were constantly under pressure from the more radical elements in the community to prove that they were not "Uncle Toms" and, as a result, they either had to be extremely outspoken on anything that might be interpreted as giving way to the white power structure, or were forced to maintain an uneasy silence so as not to be put in the center of a conflict. Within the staff similar pressures existed. The more militant members of the staff consistently pushed Board members and Negro senior staff members to take the position that only Negros could understand Negro youth and design and carry out programs for them. Thus the goal of a bi-racial staff building a common ground of understanding and a united approach to programming was seriously undermined and, in fact, never reached fulfillment.

This crisis reached its first peak in October when a high ranking Negro staff member made a strong and unsupported accusation that one of the key white staff members was exhibiting racial discrimination. The open knowledge of this conflict within the organization presented many problems and senior members of the staff spent a good deal of the next three weeks attempting to resolve the problem. Failure to deal with the basic issues in this situation had profound consequences. It was a serious mistake not to take a stand against unsupported accusations by any staff member black or white.

The second peak in this crisis occurred a month later at a management planning conference and centered around the degree of authority which the Deputy Director had over the program divisions. What was essentially a problem of management structure was interpreted instead bv some members of the staff as a racial problem. It is important to note that concurrent with these events a management consultant was working with the project to help clarify relationships in this area. The fact that a crisis emerged at this point, which was the first opportunity that all managers and directors had an opportunity to get away from the project and meet together for a two day period, is indicative of the intensity of feeling about local control and the pressure for open confrontation to support it. TRY was not unique in this experience because even totally black organizations like Youth In Action had had staff and Board meetings interrupted this way. Of course, the most publicized experience was the Board of Education which on several occasions was forced out of its Brooklyn offices by community groups.

It is important to state at this point that TRY did have serious management problems to resolve. The organization was rapidly approaching the time when trainees were scheduled to enter the program and we still had not identified a Director of Life-Skills, a Director of Administration and Personnel, and several of the key people in Research and Curriculum Development who were essential in getting the program underway. To attempt to cope with these problems the Director of Systems Development and Evaluation was given the added responsibility of Acting Director of Life-Skills and the Deputy Executive Director was given the added responsibility of Director of Administration and Personnel.

The heavy pressures on the Directors of Life-Skills, Vocational Training and Youth Services to recruit staff, arrange facilities and keep their own houses in order mitigated against efforts for coordinated program development and the establishment of important program policies and procedures. Frequently matters which should never have become issues (ie, the procurement of educational supplies) took inordinate amounts of time. Issues related to research had to be resolved over and over again as each new group of staff members were employed by the project. The constant shifting of offices and classrooms as the project grew hurt communication. Most importantly, our inability to recruit first line supervisors in the programmatic divisions who could function as coaches and staff developers to the instructional and youth services staff created a management crisis. Inevitably, questions of procedure and competence were tinged with feelings of racial pressures on both sides. Nevertheless, because we had staff members who had worked out a great many procedures and program outlines, we proceeded with the intake of trainees in the hope that working with trainees would be the quickest way to test out staff, procedures and curriculum.

Other peaks in this continuing crisis were to arise and will be reported upon in other sections. However, it can be seen from the above events which occurred during the first six months of the project that relationships between blacks and whites were very sensitive and that the old techniques of sitting down and talking matters over were not adequate to deal with the new forms of pressure on the relationships between the races.

Enter The Trainee

On December 7, 1966, the first group of 20 trainees entered the TRY project as an initial pilot group to test out Life-Skills concepts and program operating procedures. They had been recruited through a temporary office which the project had set up on Fulton Street, the main thoroughfare of Bedford-Stuyvesant. From this small recruiting center these 20 young men came to downtown Brooklyn to the temporary headquarters of the TRY project located in a 14 story traditional YMCA building. Unfortunately, due to pressures of time and management conflicts, this pilot program for testing curriculum was not allowed to achieve its objectives, but instead was merely expanded as the actual start of training operations.

In the opening orientation session the staff explained that the project was just getting started and the first group of trainees would have an important part in testing out the new program. It was also pointed out it would be late spring before the project moved to its permanent facility and that it would be at least April before all of the vocational programs were in operation. At the time the project started only auto mechanics, refrigeration, air conditioning and heating programs were available. In the general discussion which followed the orientation it became clear that this group of trainees had dealt with a variety of social agencies before and that a number of them had participated in neighborhood Youth Corp., Job Corp or Youth In Action programs before coming to TRY. The area of most intense interest was the amount of training allowance which they would receive each week as a part of the TRY program. It was explained that these arrangements would be completed the following day with representatives from the State Employment Security Office. The raised eyebrows suggested that tomorrow was hardly soon enough.

After the orientation sessions the trainees were divided into two groups of ten, and two Life-Skills educators were assigned to each of these groups; one the permanent Life-Skills educator and the other to be a Life-Skills educator in training. During the ensuing two weeks the Life-Skills groups completed the background questionnaire, registered themselves for MDTA training allowance payments, got started on a regular schedule of Life-Skills group meetings and completed the initial test battery which had been designed by the evaluation group.

The trainees in the first group like all of those to follow, were predominately Negro and ran the full age range from 17 to 21. Several of them had dependents and several were on probation or parole. Several claimed to be members of the militant Five Percenter group. Most of the trainees said that they had come to the TRY project because it appeared to offer a real opportunity to them whereas the other projects they had been related to had been just places to spend time. The staff was impressed with the seriousness of the trainees and also with their "no nonsense" approach to the critical issues affecting their future. It was eminently clear to the staff that the Life-Skills curriculum and vocational training would have to be relevant to the needs of these trainees a high percentage of the time if we were to meet the expectations of these young men.

Vocational training in the shops was scheduled to start for these young men within two weeks after they entered the program, but due to delays in the renovation of the Trade School building and delays in receiving equipment we were forced to continue with only classroom instruction in the trade areas for the first five weeks they were in the program. The classroom work was broken up by a series of field trips to several well run auto repair centers and refrigeration shops so that the trainees could see the range of jobs carried on in these locations and the importance of being familiar with a wide-range of equipment models, tools and procedures.

In mid-January another group of trainees was admitted to the program and the project began a series of time-consuming expansions in the temporary training facility first taking over an entire floor and then adding another and then a third floor to handle the 20 Life-Skills groups which entered the program during the first half of 1967. As the number of trainees grew so did the problems of procurement, staffing and curriculum development. The latter two problems were so important that they will be dealt with in following sections. The procurement problem was typified by long delays between the time items were ordered and the time they were received, by frequent planning errors by program staff, and by unsupported optimism on the part of the Purchasing Department that they could handle all the tasks involved within the time necessary.

Three nagging problems that continually affected the trainees further complicated the project's development. The first of these was the lunch arrangements for trainees. The project attempted every possible kind of approach including box lunches and meal chits at surrounding restaurants. None of these arrangements were successful and the trainees were constantly complaining about the quality of food.

The second problem had to do with transportation back and forth between the temporary training facility and the Trade School building. As the number of trainees increased more and more buses were required to transport trainees between the two locations. Invariably buses would be late, or trainees would miss buses and this added to the confusion in the training program. The staff of the project breathed a universal sigh of relief on July 1, 1967 when the permanent training facility opened and buses were no longer needed.

The third and most critical problem affecting the trainees was the continued late arrival of training allowance checks. The TRY staff was aware from its previous experience of MDTA payment systems that there would be a two to three week delay at the beginning of the trainee's experience with the project and that somewhere between ten and twenty percent of the checks would be delayed each week for one reason or another. The project nearly had its first riot in late January, 1967, when more than half of the checks failed to arrive. In an attempt to resolve this problem the Executive Director took a representative from each of the Life-Skills classes then in the program to see the Regional Director of the MDTA payment system. The trainees handled themselves extremely well in this conference situation and asked a number of perceptive questions of the Regional Director. They also made it extremely clear to him that a number of them had families and all of them had obligations which needed to be met on time. As a result the MDTA administrator said that he would do everything possible to insure prompt service to the TRY project. Upon their return to the project the class representatives developed a memo to all TRY trainees explaining what had happened at the conference and ask and asking the trainees to adopt a wait and see attitude. The memorandum is included here as an example of the seriousness of the trainees.

"TO: ALL TRY TRAINEES DATE: Jan. 30, 1967

FROM: L. Kennedy, Frank Staten

SUBJ: CHECKS

My name is L. Kennedy, on January 30, 1967, Frank Staten, Mr. Paul Sharar, and I went to the MDTA office in Manhattan to ask certain questions about the processing and payment of checks.

My name is Frank Staten, at the meeting on January 30th, I asked such questions as how long, and how much work experience are you supposed to have before you can receive $44.00 per week, and can it go up to $54.00 per week or is this just a rumor. (It can go up to $54.00 per week after 11 weeks.)

We were able to ascertain the following:

1. AGE REQUIREMENT - Trainees are eligible only when 17 or beginning the Monday after you become 17.

2. RAISE - The new amendment states that you will receive a $10.00 raise starting with the enactment of the new amendment on January 1st from $44.00 to $54.00 per week.

3. CHECK CASHING - Don't ever sign a check without having immediate plans to cash it right away. If you sign a check and you lost it, the check is just as good as money to anyone who finds it.

4. LOST OR STOLEN CHECKS - If this happens to you you should report it to your Life-Skills Educator at once.

5. PROCESSING - It takes approximately two weeks to process a check from Albany, so that this may be why we have been having such a hang up in the check payment system. The information has to go to MDTA, from MDTA to Albany, and then back to us.

6. PAYMENT - If you are eligible for a check, and you do not receive one in 10 days speak to your Life-Skills Instructor at once.

7. HALF-DAY - We also found out that there is no such thing as a half-day pay period. You MUST be in training one whole day, and it is left up to the Life-Skills Educator's discrimination whether to give you a whole day credit, or none at all.

   Let's see if the MDTA system works."

However, it was not long before the continuing frustration of late checks or checks stolen from home mail boxes again reached a critical pitch. During the interim between the first incident and this second critical period in March, the project staff had made two proposals to the federal government. The first of these was the request that TRY take over the entire MDTA payment program as part of its regular payroll function so that trainees could be assured that they would be paid on time and so that the project could treat the trainees as employees and use the MDTA payments experience as part of the educational program of the project. The second alternative proposed was that MDTA mail all checks from Albany to the project and that the project take on the responsibility for disbursement of MDTA training allowance payments with the added provision that the federal government would allow TRY to pay up to 75% of what a trainee would receive in the event that his MDTA payment check did not come from Albany. There was no action on this request until one day in March when federal contract officials happened to be in the Finance office when a large group of trainees stormed in demanding their checks. That harrowing experience brought a prompt response approving arrangements to set up the second alternative proposed by the TRY project. The process that was put into operation shortly thereafter, but in order to make it work efficiently TRY had to send one of its staff members with the MDTA attendance forms each week to MDTA headquarters in New York to insure that they were processed promptly and then because there were frequent delays in mailings from Albany, TRY finally had to arrange to send one of its staff members all the way to Albany every week to pick up the several hundred checks that were due to the project. This was necessary because in the event that checks did not arrive the Finance Department had to verify the amount due to each of the several hundred trainees and then draw a check for each of them for 75% of the total amount due and then when the MDTA check arrived they had to meet with each trainee, have him endorse his MDTA check to TRY, and then make out a check to the trainee for the remaining 25% due him. On several occasions this cumbersome process tied up the entire finance department for two days of the week. The process did, however, remove one of the major causes of crisis within the project and provided a real basis for the Life-Skill educators to work with the trainees around financial matters.

At the March meeting of the Board of Directors approximately 20 trainees were invited to give their impressions on developments at TRY. The first two representatives to speak expressed their strong dissatisfaction with the lack of tools and proper equipment in the vocational training classes. They also objected to the bussing back and forth between the two facilities and said the project should not start until it was ready to do a complete job. At this point they stormed out of the meeting saying they were through with the project. A second group of trainees presented a series of films they had made of life in Bedford-Stuyvesant and expressed their feelings about the community. A third group did a role playing sketch demonstrating the effects of absenteeism on the trainee's MDTA check at the end of the week, and the counseling approach of the Life-Skills educator in such situations. Two other trainees and one of the Life-Skills educators gave an oral interpretation of a picture of a Negro father with his son and showed how this process was related to the development of perception of feelings and the development of communication skills. In the general question and answer period which followed the presentation the most often repeated complaint concerned the lateness of checks. The Chairman of the Board, referring to the outburst of the first group of trainees, thought it was the sign of the times. He pointed out that on the previous day he had encountered a similar situation at a meeting he attended in the community. He stated that he thought these confrontations were very healthy since aggressiveness and discontent are signs of growth among youth.

Improving The Selection Of Life-Skills Educators

The first efforts at screening Life-Skills educators during the months of November and December proved to be highly inefficient and of doubtful value because the part-time interviewers hired by the personnel manager knew less about the project than many of the applicants. As a result most of the applicants were passed through the first interview and had to be reinterviewed by senior staff members. The screening and selection process was also complicated by the unwillingness of the Personnel Department to participate in any testing program of potential employees. Their argument was that Negros had been systematically excluded from jobs on the basis of test scores and that for TRY to even require tests of applicants for positions would ruin TRY's reputation among Negro professionals.

In an effort to deal with the personnel selection situation in a creative way the Systems and Evaluation Division created the Situational Interview Task technique, a work sample type of approach, as a means of evaluating potential Life-Skills educators. The SIT technique, described more fully in sections VI, was used in the screening and selection of the next twenty Life-Skills educators employed by the TRY project. The technique had to be discarded in late March because the TRY personnel responsible for it had to be reassigned to full time teaching duties. Among the first twenty Life-Skills educators employed 15 were Negro and 5 were white, 15 were men and 5 were women. All the women were Negro.

Our original staffing target in terms of educational background and work experience was to have one-third of our staff come from the field of education, one-third from the field of counseling, and one-third from a mixture of other backgrounds which would enrich the educational program such as law, business, etc. The backgrounds of the first twenty Life-Skills educators showed that 11 had training and work experience in education, only 2 had background experience in counseling, while 7 came from other backgrounds. With regard to level of education, 8 of the first 20 had some graduate school education, 6 had completed college, 3 had received some college education but had not graduated and 2 had only high school diplomas.

While the evaluation of Life-Skills educators will be dealt with in Chapter IV, it is interesting to note, at this point, that of these 20 educators screened by the SIT technique 8 stood in the highest third among all Life-Skills educators at the end of the rating period, 4 stood in the middle third and 8 stood in the lowest third. It is also interesting to note that only half of those with graduate school education rated in the top one-third and that 2 of the 5 with less than 4 years of college also ranked in the top third. It is also interesting to note that only half of those rated in the top third had a background in the field of education. Sixteen of the first 20 employed had previous direct experience in programs with disadvantaged youth. In general, it would appear that the SIT technique improved the selection of Life-Skills educators, however, considerably more research on this and other techniques is necessary.

It is also pertinent to note that at least half of this first group of Life-Skills educators had a more militant view with regard to the process of social change and generally were opposed to the research goals of the project although this did not come out at the time of their employment. Such conflicts within the project were a critical factor in the project's inability to meet its first year goals.

First Stage Efforts To Build And Implement The Life-Skills Curriculum

The TRY design called for the development of two Life-Skills curriculum treatments; an "experience-centered" treatment and a "content-centered" treatment. Both treatments were to be augmented by individual counseling sessions with trainees, by a basic skills development program, and by the full range of youth services as well as the vocational training program in which all trainees would participate. The possibilities of varying the ways by which counseling would be handled and whether or not feedback of information would be required were discussed and a decision was reached that the best that could be accomplished during the first year would be the two curriculum treatments.

The concepts and theoretical framework for the TRY experience-centered curriculum model grew out of the work of Dewey, Stratemeyer, and others. Basic to this design is the assumption that the trainee learns most effectively if he starts with particular issues that are highly relevant to him and then moves from the particular to the general. Such a model can be most advantageously established within a framework of "Areas of Life Responsibility" rather than with traditional subject matter areas. The five Areas of Life Responsibility defined in the TRY Experience-Centered Curriculum Model are: 1) developing and maintaining the self; 2) managing a career; 3) participating effectively in the community; 4) managing home and family responsibilities and 5) using leisure time productively. The details on this "experience-centered" Life-Skills curriculum model are to be found in the TRY Proposal, Chapter IV, pages 45 to 79.

While there have been a number of efforts to describe experience-centered curriculum models there are very few descriptions of efforts to implement such models and to analyze the problems encountered in such developments. The TRY experience, therefore, may be useful to those considering such a development in a wide variety of educational settings. Basic responsibility for the development of the "experience-centered" curriculum units was in the hands of Mr. Robert Wolsh, senior curriculum specialist of the TRY project. Since an experience-centered model requires the involvement of the educator and the student as well as the curriculum specialist a small group of four Life-Skills educators who were most interested and most able to work on this kind of curriculum model were selected to work with Mr. Wolsh.

Development Of An Experienced-Centered Life-Skills Curriculum

The development of an experience-centered curriculum is much more of an inductive rather than a deductive process. Not only does one move from the particular to the general but also one must start where the trainee is and move through a series of group and individual learning experiences to the achievement of some of the goals of the project. The following is an outline of the steps in this curriculum development process.

1. Evocative Stage - The first step in the development of an experience-centered curriculum is to evoke from the trainees as much as possible of what they know and feel about a particular problem. This evocative process

accomplished at least three major goals. First of all, it dignifies the knowledge which the trainees already possess and shows them that they have a significant basis from which they can work. Secondly, and equally as important, this process shows the Life-Skills educator the degree of readiness and the best direction for the group to move ahead. It also shows the Life-Skills educator the misinformation and the missing information which need to be dealt with in the curriculum unit. The evocative stage has a third value in that it emphasizes the participative nature of the experience-centered curriculum. This participation can be emphasized by having the information produced by the trainees from their own experience typed up and made generally available. This process emphasizes one of the major concepts of this whole curriculum approach namely, that life experiences are a primary source of information, but to make them useful one must record and evaluate them.

2. The Problem-Defining And Information-Gathering Phase
Out of the experience of trainees will come a number of problems in the area being discussed which need to be further defined and interrelated one to another. Invariably in seeking to define the problems and their interrelationships more information is needed. The problem-defining and information-gathering phase continues until there is reasonable consensus on what the primary problems are and several alternative solutions are suggested.

3. The Action Phase - The action phase or project phase of a curriculum unit involves the testing out of at least two of the alternative solutions suggested in the previous stage. The reason for always testing out more than one alternative is to reinforce in the experience of each trainee that there are always several alternative solutions to a problem if a person will look for them.

   In many ways the action phase is the most challenging aspect of the whole process because student and teacher alike must commit themselves to action. To test out two alternatives at once is doubly challenging because not only must one act, but he must also be ready to compare and evaluate that action. Because this kind of approach to education has rarely been tested, private and public groups are not used to seeing things happen or to having groups come in with specific recommendations to what ought to be done in a particular case with supporting evidence to back up their position. The TRY project found that families in the community were not used to being visited in their apartments and being told about the advantages of signing up for Medicare and that guides in the Museum of Modern Art were not used to having young men from Bedford-Stuyvesant ask perceptive questions about the meaning of some of their displays.

The action phase is critically important to the learning experience of the trainee because so many of the young people growing up in the ghetto feel that there is no action that they can take, that everything is controlled from outside. Therefore, participation in this action phase of the program is integral to the whole educational approach and yet this stage is most resisted by staff and trainees alike simply because it is challenging and what each individual does or does not do is clearly visible to the entire group.

4. Analysis Of Results Phase - The analysis of outcomes of testing alternative solutions provides the opportunity to develop general conclusions from particular experiences and also offers opportunity for each trainee to examine whether or not he is an active participant or just an observer in the process. The objectives of Life-Skills educator in each unit, we feel, should be to encourage each trainee to try something new, something that he had not done before, so that he can learn directly from his own experiences and have these learnings reinforced by the group.

This experience-centered curriculum model represents a functional definition of the basic goals of the TRY project which are to encourage the evolution of self worth through the development of competence and of self direction through the perception testing and evaluation of alternative solutions to life problems.

The guidelines for this type of curriculum model of necessity had to be flexible. The broad requirements were that at least ten hours per week would be spent in Life-Skills curriculum program, but it was purposely arrangement that this time could be scheduled to allow for evening programs or all day field trips if necessary. Our hope was that Life-Skills groups would be out of the building from one-third to one half of the time. The second guideline was that each major area of Life-Skills responsibility should be dealt with at least once during the first nine months, but the sequencing of these units and their relative length in program hours was left with the Life-Skills group and the Life-Skills educator. In a broad sense we hoped that two curriculum units in each of the five Life-Skills areas would occur during the total time that a Life-Skills group was in the project, but this was not a fixed requirement.

To provide resources for Life-Skills educators the curriculum development group established a Curriculum Resources Center where material was organized under the broad rubric of the five areas of Life responsibility defined by the curriculum. In addition, the curriculum development specialists began to organize multi-media kits which brought together in one package the best films, records, magazine articles, books, maps and other educational resources which might be used by a Life-Skills educator in a particular unit. The enrichment of these multi-media kits was to be a two-way effort. As Life-Skills groups used the material they were to evaluate and add to them so that the next group using the kit would have a more useful resource. In addition, the curriculum group would add resources as they found them and in some cases create new resources which the Life-Skills educator requested. While a number of mixed media kits were developed (see mixed media kit outlines submitted to funding sources in the summer, 1967), they were not put into general use for reasons detailed in the next section.

The development and ongoing evaluation of the experience-centered curriculum units were to take place in the sessions which the curriculum development staff had with the small groups of Life-Skills educators three times each week. This process worked fairly well for several months until the pressures caused by the rapid buildup of the trainees and the parallel buildup of staff made it impossible to devote the time necessary to this process.

Several examples of experience-centered Life-Skills curriculum units may give the reader a better appreciation of how we hoped the curriculum would work. One Life-Skills group which began operation in August, 1967 determined in its early sessions that it wanted to concentrate on the development of a career as the first unit of Life-Skills curriculum. During the first stage in this unit the Life-Skills educator elicited from the group several basic needs, one of which was the desire to buildup a business which would be a long range investment from each member of the group. Secondly, he learned that a number of trainees had dependents and that they needed additional income even while they were in the project. The problem they defined for themselves was to identify a business which they could set up and which could be a source of income to them almost immediately and which would also provide a secondary source of income after they had finished training. Several alternatives were considered and researched. Among them was the possibility of setting up a laundromat near the project.

In the process of making a decision the group surveyed the area to see how many laundromats were located within a five block radius of the project. They also invited in the managers of several laundromats outside their proposed territory to discuss operational and financial problems with them. The major reason for selecting a laundromat as a business was the fact that most of the young men in this particular Life-Skills group were receiving training either in major appliance repair or in vending mechanics. Thus they would be able to care for the equipment themselves and increase their profits.

The next step in the information gathering and solution planning process was to see if the group could set up their own corporation and what financial arrangements could be made to underwrite the effort. A member of the TRY Legal Department met with the group several times to show them how they could set up a corporation under the laws of the State of New York. The group then worked out how they would handle the shares of the business and how the corporation would operate.

Then, entering into the action phase, the group assessed each member $2.00 a week toward the capital needed to get started and also undertook several fund raising efforts within the project. They also wrote to the major industrial laundry equipment manufacturers to see what kind of arrangements could be made for the equipment and its installation in the laundromat. They were surprised to get several positive responses from large manufacturers and then developed a proposal to the Small Business Administration for aid in financing the project. Beyond this they located several possible sites for the laundromat and evaluated each site with regard to how much renovation would be necessary and whether the basic utilities were adequate for their needs.

The formation of the corporation and the development of the contract with the equipment firm required some assistance from the Legal staff at TRY but by and large was handled by the trainees themselves. Within six months the group had raised almost all of the capital needed to begin the project. Whether or not this project will be a success is a question that only time will answer, but it is clear that this group was totally involved in the effort, that the particular information and experiences from this venture would aid them in later life, and that their involvement in the TRY project was high as was evidenced by the 95% or better attendance record of the members of this group and by their achievement in the vocational training program.

A second example of an experience-centered Life-Skills curriculum unit occurred around the area of marriage and the family. About four months after one Life-Skills group was organized the Life-Skills educator learned that a member of the group intended to get married. Because no one in the group was married at this time and because this particular trainee offered his cooperation it was possible to set up a unit which was built around the marriage and setting up the household. In the early stages of the unit a good deal of time was taken on the economics of setting up an apartment. The group visited several thrift shops and also examined very carefully the "buy-now-pay-later" plans of several furniture stores. They also did a survey of the number and types of apartments which were available in the area and as a direct result helped the newlyweds to find their first apartment. The Life-Skills group attended the wedding and helped put on a party for the couple afterwards.

Later in the year another curriculum unit became possible because the wife was pregnant and the couple agreed to let their experience be the center of a unit on child development. Nutrition, childhood diseases, the stresses that children place on a marriage and a number of other factors were discussed as part of this unit. The group also visited medical insurance programs which are available. The value of the overall experience again was shown by a high attendance record of this particular Life-Skills group.

With both of the experience-centered education units outlined above the Life-Skills educators were able to relate the subject matter of the unit to the basic skills education program which was carried on concurrently. The basic skills program, which represented one hour per day in addition to the Life-Skills session, concentrated on the development of reading, mathematical, writing and analytical skills. This program was extremely difficult for most Life-Skills educators to manage because of the great range of skills represented in each Life-Skills group. As one Life-Skills educator put it, he had to develop three separate presentations every day or else one part of his group would suffer as a result. In retrospect, it was far too much to expect that one Life-Skills educator could develop and follow through upon an effective experience-centered curriculum and, at the same time, adapt a basic skills program to the content of his Life-Skills program at three different levels each day. It is probably more logical to divide staff responsibilities between Life-Skills and basic skills curriculum and develop effective persons in each area. The other possibility, of course, would be to return to the homogeneous ability groupings and have one Life-Skills educator responsible for the total experience of a group of young men. While the TRY experience was too limited to offer a basis for analysis, it seemed to us that there is going to be enough diversity in the skills and ability in the Life-Skills educators that both possibilities for organizational groupings will continue to be useful.

By early summer a number of factors had combined to virtually end the development of an experience-centered curriculum. The first of these factors was a determination by the management to focus on the development of a content-centered curriculum to meet the needs of Life-Skills educators who were demanding a more traditional curriculum approach. The second major factor affecting the experience-centered curriculum was the decision by the Personnel Committee not to accept the nomination of Mr. Robert Wolsh as Manager of Curriculum Development. This eventually led to the dissolution of the curriculum development group as most of its members left the project staff. While efforts continued to be made to implement an experience-centered curriculum by individual Life-Skills educators, the real possibilities of developing and testing such a curriculum were negated by the urgent need to rapidly increase the intake of trainees and by the changes of staff which occurred.

The Power Drain

During the early part of 1967 a number of new programs came into existence in Bedford-Stuyvesant which had a marked effect upon TRY. The first of these was the Restoration Corporation. The purpose of the Restoration Corporation was to redevelop the Bedford-Stuyvesant area in terms of housing, economics and social organization. The Chairman of the Board of Directors of this new corporation was Judge Thomas R. Jones who up until this time had been Chairman of the Program Committee of the TRY project. The heavy demands of this new organization greatly decreased his ability to participate in TRY organization. Several other members of the TRY Board were recruited to the Restoration Corporation Board and it was hoped that this would produce good communication between TRY and this new organization focused on the broader development of the community.

The second major organization to be set up in early 1967 in Bedford-Stuyvesant was the Open Industry Center (OIC), an affiliate of Reverend Leon Sullivan's program in Philadelphia. This project, strongly backed by the Negro churches in the community, was aimed at setting up job training programs to aid unemployed and underemployed persons in the community. Of all the programs in the community this would be most similar to the TRY project and, while focused on a broader population, would also accept young men ages 17 to 21. The Reverend Henry M. Deas, Chairman of the Personnel Committee of the TRY project until his untimely death, was a member of the Executive Committee of the OIC project. The energies of TRY staff were also drained away to the OIC project as both TRY's Deputy Director and Director of Vocational Training were recruited to higher level and better paying positions in the OIC organization. TRY's Manager of Purchasing also joined OIC just at the time TRY was moving in to its permanent facility and needed to rapidly complete its final equipment and furniture procurement.

A community medical service center was the third organization to be established during this period. The designer of this program and Chairman of its Board of Directors was Dr. Vernal Cave who succeeded Reverend Henry Deas as chairman of TRY's Personnel Committee. The community medical service center, funded by the Office of Economic Opportunity, was to provide health services to poor persons living in the community and also to carry out a training program for community health aides who would be non-professional persons trained to handle a multitude of non-medical, but highly important community information and patient related services.

While no one would argue with the vital importance of each one of these programs to the Bedford-Stuyvesant community, each of them did have an effect upon the ability of the Training Resources for Youth project to fulfill its obligations during the buildup period. The TRY organization was already hampered by its inability to find several key directors and then to have these additional drains on the strength of the organization during this critical period placed the whole project in jeopardy.

A second type of power drain also occurred during this period, and represented a continuation of the crisis in black and white. In late January it came to the attention of the Executive Director that anonymous letters had been sent to the Board on TRY stationary making accusations of racial discrimination on the part of TRY senior staff and demanding an investigation by the Board. The issues of open communication, of grievance procedures, and of the role of the Board in relation to the senior staff were further complicated by the involvement of several TRY staff members in the development of other projects in the community. Although the Board took steps to clarify matters, the resolution of these problems took several months, time which TRY desperately needed for developmental purposes.

Relentless Pressures

As competitive pressures grew on the outside, relentless pressures increased within the organization. During the first six months of 1967, more than 300 young men were recruited to the project of which approximately 250 actually began training. The innumerable tasks of arranging for facility, staff and program for this rapid buildup of young men was one of the major pressures. Another pressure came from the continuing vacuum of leadership in the Life-Skills division which created power struggles and devisiveness within the organization. Deep concern for the organization to meet its demonstration and research goals created yet a third pressure and something had to give.

After a preliminary assessment of management problems in February a major evaluation and reassessment of the project's objectives and time table were undertaken in March. The tone and feeling within the project at that time is perhaps best reflected in the first interim report of the staff Task Force appointed to make this evaluation within the project:

"Overview - Interim Task Force Report - March 10, 1968"

Project TRY is now 8 months old. After spending the first two months (July-August, 1966) completing contractual arrangements with the Federal agencies, and awaiting the receipt of advance funds before hiring staff, there has been a period of rapid growth during which the staff has expanded from under 20 people to close to 150 people, the entire operation was relocated several times, the base was laid for training operations, and about 120 trainees commenced training. In many instances newly hired staff were pressed into service without adequate orientation due to the great need for manpower. The rapid expansion of operations to meet our scheduled intake of trainees inevitably resulted in a variety of hastily developed, temporary measures to deal with the constant press of problems.

In spite of these circumstances we were able to attract a large number of competent and effective people who have been making steady progress in building this organization. As was indicated in the proposal, we recognized in advance that from time to time it would be necessary to step back, take a hard, objective look at the project and make necessary changes so that ultimately the final product could approach the high standards we set for ourselves. We believe this approach makes good management sense.

It should be understood that there are many positive things happening at TRY -- many signs of real growth and progress. What follows will of necessity focus upon major areas which currently need immediate attention. It should be stated that TRY is now in a state of crisis, unless decisive steps are taken at this time TRY may fail. The major aim of this Task Force is to recommend detailed remedial action so that we may consolidate our gains and overcome our weaknesses.

It is not the intent of this Task Force to focus blame on any individuals. The job of building an institution like TRY within the time-limits is a very difficult one at best.

We do intend, however, to illuminate the problems we are currently facing and recommend detailed solutions, so that we can move smoothly ahead to build a first-rate training center.

The continued life of TRY is the mutual responsibility of the Board of Directors, the executive officers and the senior staff. Good solutions to the problems we are now facing will require the best cooperative thinking and the most decisive action of all these groups according to their function. Irresponsibility on any level will only undermine TRY's ability to give a second chance to 600 young men each year and a ray of hope to the community of Bedford-Stuyvesant.

"Major Problem Areas"

The major problems at TRY at this stage of the development are problems of management. Adequate policies and procedures to fully implement the proposal are not yet sufficient. The major problem areas include the following:

1. Policies governing trainees in the project have not yet been completed or disseminated.

2. Intake and orientation of trainees to the project needs to be more thoroughly planned and tightened, and responsibility for each phase needs to be clarified and understood.

3. A staff orientation and training program needs to be more thoroughly developed.

4. Trainee attendance record-keeping procedures need to be tightened.

5. Overall program scheduling procedures need to be specified and instituted.

6. The authorities and responsibilities of the management staff needs to be defined more specifically to improve accountability for perfomance of each important function.

7. A mechanism governing the orderly exchange of information about trainees between programs staff needs to be developed and instituted.

8. Personnel policy needs to be finalized, reviewed and disseminated to all staff.

9. The purchasing system needs to be reorganized with a clearer definition of responsibility of each phase of operation.

10. Facilities, maintenance procedures need to be developed.

11. Security procedures for facilities need to be instituted.

12. There is need for a space utilization policy, and a schedule for orderly transfer to the Bedford YMCA.

13. General office management policies need to be specified and tightened.

14. It is probable that we will need additional facilities due to additions to the staff and modifications to the construction plan. This needs to be investigated and planned immediately.

15. The lack of directors in two key areas, Administration and Personnel and Life-Skills Education, has hampered operations enormously. Both are required immediately.

16. The staff attorney's role as the liaison on contract matters with federal agencies should be specified.

17. There has been no community relations program, no organized publicity effort, and insufficient participation by staff in community organizations. A plan must be developed and instituted with coordinating responsibility assigned to one individual.

18. There is currently token participation on two board committees. Board committees structure must be strengthened.

19. There is insufficient communication between the board and the staff. Procedures to produce same must be developed and instituted.

20. The staff feels a lack of board support on several critical issues. Steps must be taken to eliminate this problem.

21. There is insufficient curriculum and curriculum materials for Life-Skills Education and Vocational Training. This effort must be speeded up by instituting a tighter schedule and eliminating blocks which are currently interfering with this

process. There has been a lack of planning for basic equipment and supplies ranging from telephones to chalk. Responsibility for insuring compliance and facilitating receipt need to be instituted.

22. MDTA policies governing payment of trainees stipends need to be regularized, instituted, and assigned to a responsible individual.

23. The current record keeping system for trainees is inadequate. A uniform interdivisional system must be planned and instituted.

24. Policies governing youth advisors need clarification and dissemination.

25. Policies and procedures regarding the staffing, governing and operation of residences must be developed.

26. There are problems related to the acquisition of brownstone houses for residence. New strategies and tighter schedules need to be developed and instituted.

27. The physical education program needs improvement.

28. The recreation program needs to be more thoroughly defined and instituted.

29. No trainees currently have had medical examinations. Examination and treatment plans must be instituted immediately.

30. The scope and function of the social service program needs definition.

31. Procedures for feeding trainees and staff on a temporary and permanent basis need to be improved.

32. Due to difficulties in purchasing, there is a serious shortage of equipment and supplies in the vocational shops. Better purchasing procedures for this critical problem should be instituted immediately.

33. The testing and information feedback program needs develop-

ment and tightening in order to facilitate orientation week activities.

34. An electronic data processing system is now being developed. Freeing manpower from other critical tasks will facilitate early completion.

35. Trainees selection procedures need refinement and tightening.

36. The Life-Skills Education model is now being tested with a pilot group of Life-Skills Educators. It needs further definition with more specific plans for its application to other curriculum areas.

37. A difficulty in filling critical positions in all program areas has greatly hampered program operations. Procedures for facilitating and speeding up this process must be developed and instituted.

38. There has been great difficulty in coordinating activities between all program areas. A new mechanism for insuring compliance with inter-divisional responsibilities must be developed and instituted."

Critical Decisions

The Task Force referred to in the previous sections was management's attempt to respond to a tremendous range of developmental and organizational problems which frequently are glossed over as temporary troubles to be expected in the startup of a large-scaled project. However, TRY's management was deeply concerned that the project maintain its capacity to meet its demonstration and research goals as outlined in the Proposal and, therefore, was unwilling to relent on the issue of focusing on the central developmental problems. The decision was made to delay the intake of trainees and to put aside other developmental tasks until the priority issues could be worked out. Assignments were given throughout the organizations and a great many of the problems outlined in the previous section were dealt with. However, with so many issues involved a number of critical decisions had to be made. The following emerged as the most important.

The first major question had to do with the intake of trainees. TRY's original schedule called for completing the intake of all 600 trainees before the summer began. There was considerable concern in the community and in Washington to have all the trainees in the project before the anticipated long hot summer began. It was equally obvious that TRY could not handle more than 250 trainees in its temporary facility and that its main building would not be ready until July 1st. Added to these facts was the clear knowledge that TRY could not complete the staffing of the Life-Skills unit until the school year ended and until the teacher recruited for the project were free from their school contracts. All of these factors suggested a revised intake schedule for trainees which would bring the total to 250 by July 1st and to 600 by early September. The alternative was to stop all intake until the facility, staff and curriculum were ready which would have been late August or early September. In light of the pressures mentioned and the need to be at full operational level before entering negotiations for the second contract in early September, the decision was made to move as rapidly as facilities and staffing would allow to bring the project to the full quota of trainees.

The second major decision also had to do with the rate of intake of the trainees. The growing resistence to research both within the project and in the community had placed tremendous pressure on the intake policies of the organization. The TRY research design called for a sample population of trainees which would replicate the high school dropout and unemployed male youth population in the Bedford-Stuyvesant community. The sample guidelines were as follows: 1) a racial mixture of approximately 70% Negro, 15% Puerto Rican and 15% Caucasion; 2) an age distribution with approximately 125 trainees in each yearly bracket from 17 to 21; 3) no more than 25% of the total sample to be under the jurisdiction of parole or probation and 4) a normal distribution of reading ability with a mean at the sixth grade level (a figure which has been established as a result of the evaluation of nearly 800 young men in the Youth and Work Project prior to the inception of TRY). The attitude of most of the staff and of a number of persons in the community was that there should be no limitation on admission to the project, particularly not on reading ability. This matter was discussed with the funding agencies including the implications for research in the project. It was the decision of the Office of Economic Opportunity that this particular sampling guideline should be maintained in spite of the fact that TRY representatives pointed out that the reading guideline would be reasonably approximated by a natural selection process and even if it were not, that conclusions could be drawn about the population since it would be well defined. The decision to stick with the reading guideline greatly increased the pressure on the research group and caused an undermining of the testing procedures and open suggestion to the trainee applicants that they not do too well on the intake reading test since high scores would tend to disqualify the applicant.

An equally crucial decision about curriculum development also had a great impact on the project. As noted above, we attempted to develop two curriculum approaches simultaneously during the early months of 1967. Since our staff was not generally ready to handle the experience-centered model and since it required a considerable investment of time and effort from the curriculum development group it was decided that we would first develop a complete curriculum in accordance with the content-centered model and then when that model was established we would again undertake the experience-centered model using many of the materials already collected and prepared for the content-centered approach. The decision coupled with the employment of the long needed permanent Director of Life-Skills education had a strong stablizing influence on the project but meant that any effort to set up comparison studies between the two curriculum approaches would have to be delayed at least six months.

A fourth important decision was made regarding the residence program. As was pointed out in the section of negotiating the contract, the final provisions for the residence program were sharply cutback from the original plan. As planning moved ahead to open the first residence it became increasingly clear that the staffing pattern for the operation was totally inadequate. An outside consultant with considerable experience in residency programs for disadvantaged youth was employed to draw up a revision in the plan and this revision was submitted to Washington for approval in May, 1967. The approval from the funding sources took several months and by that time (mid-summer of 1967) the Office of Economic Opportunity was under considerable fire from Congress and there appeared to be a high probability that Office of Economic Opportunity"s programs would be cutback or shifted to other agencies. Since the Office of Economic Opportunity was the only agency that could fund the residency program the initiation of this part of the TRY program was delayed until a second year continuation of the residency program could be assured. The funding agencies were informed of this decision as soon as it was made and raised no objection.

Yet another critical decision had to do with research. The research design for the TRY project was submitted in draft form to the funding agencies in August, 1966, and the final design was scheduled to be submitted by March 31, 1967. In light of the pressures on the TRY organization during its first nine months of operation and the extra duties which had been carried by the research staff an extension on the date for submission of the research design was granted to September 30, 1967. On the one hand this extension allowed a thorough going design to be completed, but at the same time it postponed decisions about the specific first year and second year goals of the research effort. Indeed, at no point during the development or 15 months of operation of the TRY project was adequate time and attention given to the research aspects of the project by the funding agencies. This decision on the part of the funding agencies to extend the research planning phase later was turned against the project and used as one of the fundamental reasons for discontinuing the research-demonstration program because the project had not achieved its "research goals."

Changes In Senior Staff

For a few short days in June, 1967, the TRY project had a complete senior staff group. In late May, Mr. John Simpson joined the staff as Director of Life-Skills and in late June, Mr. Russell Service joined the project as Deputy Executive Director. This full leadership situation was shortlived however because in July both the Director and Associate Director of the Systems and Evaluation Division resigned because, due to the decisions which had been made, it was no longer possible to carry out the research in accord with the research design. Our Director of Vocational Training also resigned to take the program directorship of the OIC Project in Bedford-Stuyvesant. Adding to the management problem in August came the resignation of our Director of Finance, who had received an excellent offer from private industry.

The search for replacements was time consuming and in the case of Director of Research never was accomplished. It took four months to find a replacement for the Director of Finance and several months to work out an arrangement for one of the Philco employees to be transferred to the position of Director of Vocational Training.

These changes in personnel occurred during the summer months of

1967 when the project was expanding from 300 to 600 trainees, moving into its new facility, and attempting to prepare for negotiation of the second year contract. The worst single problem in finding new personnel was the fact that TRY could only offer a candidate for one of these positions a maximum of three or four months employment. This kind of situation which is frequently experienced by government funded projects, more than stacked the deck against the possibilities of the project achieving its goals, it reduced the ability of the organization to even operate at the level it previously maintained because the vacuum of leadership delayed decisions and inhibited action. This should be a major reason for the government considering 36 to 60 months contracts for research and demonstration projects of this size and scope.

Build-Up To Full Operational Level

Over the last weekend in June, 1967, and the first few days of July, the project moved into its permanent facilities at 1121 Bedford Avenue in Brooklyn. Walls were still being painted, telephones were still being installed, and electricians were still working to hookup the equipment in the kitchen as the truckloads of furniture, equipment and educational materials were moved in. One week later, five new Life-Skills started. Two weeks after that four additional groups started and two weeks after that another five groups started. By August 21st, more than 600 youths had been recruited for the program and nearly 500 were actually enrolled and participating in the program. By mid-September, 38 Life-Skills groups were in operation and the Life-Skills program was beginning to settle down into a fairly smoothly running organization.

A number of trainees requested a special program to prepare them for the high school equivalency examination. When TRY moved into its permanent facility it was possible to provide the space and the staff for this program. More than 50 young men signed up immediately. Of this number, 43 earned their high school equivalency diplomas and 22 of these were admitted and actually began formal college programs.

The vocational training program also was very well established by August. The initial curriculum which had been submitted by the subcontractors (Philco Ford Corporation and Brass Rail Restaurants) had been evaluated and revised, the organization had been fully staffed, and most of the equipment needed for the program was in place. During the summer months the driver training program of one of the eight bidders in this field was tested out and found to be inadequate for TRY purposes. During the fall a second driver training program was visited by TRY staff and trainees which appeared to meet the projects needs and steps were taken to draw up contractual relationships with that organization. The food service training program and the cafeteria service operated by Brass Rail Restaurants was operating with marked success which won the praises of trainees and staff alike.

In the early fall, two developments in the vocational training program of importance occurred. The first of these was a change in the teaching strategy from a classroom approach to a "station" concept. Under the station concept the trainee would start at the beginning of the program and move from one location to another as he finished a curriculum unit. Thus the program was able to deal flexibly with the needs of individual trainees allowing each trainee to stay at a station long enough to master it. In conjunction with this the vocational instructors gave weekly ratings on each trainee in terms of degree of improvement which he had demonstrated during that week. This internal rating system had a noticable effect on both attendance and quality of work. The second development was the organization of a work-experience program in cooperation with the Job Development staff of the Youth Services division. Through contacts generated by the vocational instructors it was possible to set in motion, on a limited basis, a work experience program in industry through which trainees approaching the completion of their training could spend one to four weeks in an industrial setting in their area of training. There they had an opportunity to test their skills and be evaluated by a potential employer.

The one continuing major problem with the vocational education program was the lack of communication between vocational instructors and Life-Skills educators. This lack of communication was due in part to the tight schedules of both groups of instructors, but was also due to a sense of primary importance on the part of each group which went beyond distinctions created by the organizational structure of the project. A few joint staff meetings were held to try to overcome this problem and while progress was made it was clearly evident that much more effort would need to be expended in this direction to achieve real results.

Lack of communication and defensiveness on the part of different groups of teachers is characteristic of many educational enterprises. The solution to these problems, in our opinion, is through conferences focused on the problem and through the development of an effective case conference and feedback system of information concerning individual trainees. We know from those instances where Life-Skills educators and vocational instructors have worked effectively together that this kind of united approach produces the greatest change in the trainee as well as contributing to the morale and productiveness of the staff.

The Youth Services division provided a multitude of programs. Its heaviest responsibility at the inception of the program was the recruitment of the trainees and as was pointed out they achieved their goal by mid-September. Within the program the Youth Services division was responsible for physical education recreation, medical services, legal services and social work services. The physical education program which could have been a major asset, never really got off the ground. The staff had a major interest in basketball as a sport and the majority of the program was built around this activity. In addition there were efforts to set in motion a physical fitness program following the Air Force model but this received only a lukewarm response. Several outstanding professional athletes were employed during their off-seasons as instructors in an attempt to generate interest. No real measure of effectiveness in this approach is available.

The recreation program offered a wide variety of activities ranging from dances and swimming parties to art exhibits by trainees, weekend camping programs and an expedition to Montreal for Expo '67. Less than 20% of the trainees at TRY participated in the recreation program at any one time and its composition changed relatively little.

The social, legal and medical services of the project were frequently called upon. A great many trainees had problems with housing, welfare, probation and the like. The social work staff easily could have been composed of three persons instead of one to cover the range of needs of the young men in the project. The legal services staff was composed of the staff attorney on a part-time basis and a second year law student also on a part-time basis. In addition agreements were worked out with several local attorneys to handle court cases involving TRY trainees for very modest fees. The primary legal service rendered to trainees was in the form of advice about a wide range of matters including housing, relationships to law enforcement agencies, arrangements when a trainee became head of a household due to the death of the sole remaining parent, and the like. As is noted elsewhere, the legal services department assisted groups of trainees in setting up corporations and also participated in Life-Skills classes leading discussions on civil rights under the law, the bonding of the employees, and benefit programs under the welfare law.

Medical services within the project included a physical examination upon entrance and limited treatment which the registered nurse at the project could provide. Beyond this, referrals for service were made either under medicaid or under a trainee insurance program which was set up for those young men that did not qualify for the medicaid program. The experience of the project with medicaid was generally poor. The State medicaid officials generally took the position that there is no such thing as an emancipated minor for the purposes of medical care, yet at the same time, nearly a third of TRY's trainees were neither married nor living in their parental homes. An analysis of the health problems of trainees will be found in the following chapter.

During the summer of 1967, efforts were begun to generate jobs for graduates from the TRY project. Planning conferences were held with division directors and with the manager of job development and placement. A general schedule was laid out which projected that small groups of trainees would graduate from the project in November or December of 1967 and that the average number of graduates per month by February would be approximately 50. During the summer, of course, the job development staff was deeply involved in the recruitment of trainees for the project but since the bulk of this task would be completed by September it was anticipated that they could shift their total effort to job development and still have several months before trainees were ready to be placed. The lack of leadership in this critical phase of the program became evident in November and changes were made.

The Youth Advisor Program

The purpose of the youth advisor program was to provide opportunities for young adults in the community who had not had the benefit of a formal education to bridge the gap between the limited work opportunities open to them and the range of new careers opening up in the social service and educational areas. The plan called for 30 youth advisors to be employed by the project to perform a variety of services within the programmatic divisions including contact with the trainee's home, assistance to Life-Skills educators and vocational training instructors, and assistance to the various services provided by the youth service division. The design called for the youth advisors to receive a two week orientation and training program upon employment and then for them to be rotated at six week intervals through the three programmatic divisions so that they would have an opportunity to see the range of jobs for which they might apply. Permanent assignment for six months to a year would follow this survey of job opportunities in the organization. It was hoped that within this period of a year or less the youth advisor would either gain a promotion within the TRY program or as a result his training experience would be able to find a position in a social service agency other than TRY. It was estimated that the Youth Advisor would spend about half of his first year at TRY in training and the other half working as an assistant in one of the divisions.

In relation to the actual operation of TRY project, the youth advisor program was one of the first for which staffing was completed. Unfortunately, in its early stages, no orientation or training period was possible and youth advisors were assigned directly to divisions by the Assistant Director of Youth Services frequently without the knowledge of the division director. The vocational training division appeared to make the best use of youth advisors and several of them were promoted to assistant instructor positions after several months of training. The Life-Skills and Systems Development and Evaluation divisions had the most difficulty utilizing youth advisors partly because of the complex organizational problems each of these divisions was experiencing and partly because the youth advisors aspirations were unduly raised by staff members who suggested that they seek employment as Life-Skills educators. From time-to-time youth advisors were given special assignments the largest of which was an attempt to register all TRY trainees and their families for medicaid. This ten week effort resulted in nearly 200 Medicaid registrations being filed and a very good learning experience for the youth advisor's participating.

It is interesting to note that of the more than 40 persons employed as youth advisors during the first fifteen months of the TRY project that ten were promoted within the organization and at least five others found training-related placement outside the project.

The Narcotic Problem

The growing use of narcotics and alcoholism is a tremendously difficult problem in our society. It is a particularly acute problem within the Bedford-Stuyvesant community for narcotics of all types are available. Therefore, every young person in the community is constantly in a "risk situation" with regard to narcotics. The immediate availability of drugs, the natural tendancy to want to experiment with something forbidden, and the need of users to intice others to use so that they may maintain their own growing habit, all contribute to the high risk. The serious nature of the problem can be seen in one of the games played by the small children of the area called the "pick-up". One child is the junkie, one is the man, and one is the cop, who tries to catch the pick-up. The game is played regularly and with increasing skill until the children are big enough to play it for real. The growing number of addicts under twelve years of age is ample evidence of this problem.

The entire project represented an intervention into the area of Bedford-Stuyvesant where drugs were easily available within a short walking distance. During its rapid build-up to full operational level the Life-Skills staff at TRY became increasingly aware that the narcotics problem was coming into the project. The organization made every effort possible to have the physical examinations for the trainees completed before they entered the project, but with 300 young men entering the project in less than two months this became a physical impossibility. Even with the physical exams it was not possible to identify a number of narcotic users. All educational enterprises may as well accept the proposition that there will be users within their programs and turn their energies to developing better ways of dealing with the problem.

Since substance use is a major problem in all educational institutions the TRY program staff decided to approach this problem with the same care and desire to search for better solutions as we approached any other problem in our demonstration-research effort. We sought help from a variety of professional sources and hired several consultants to work closely with us on the problem.

The first step was to set up a training program for staff members so they would have a better understanding of the range of problems presented by drug use and also would know something about the most up-to-date research findings about the problem.

The second step was to develop a policy statement and inform the staff and trainees alike of the basic stance of the organization. In essence the policy statement reaffirmed the position stated in the proposal, "That the use of narcotics or alcohol on the TRY premises, or the condition of being under the influence of narcotics or alcohol while on the TRY premises can be grounds for dismissal of either a trainee or a staff member. The decision on termination or continuation in the project on a probationary status will be based on the ability of the individual to maintain a satisfactory level of social functioning under the monitoring procedures set up by TRY."

The problems of narcotics use has serious legal, moral, community, and educational implications. TRY attempted to take this wide range of implications into consideration in recommending procedures for action within the project. The first step was to inform trainees and staff of the policies and procedures of the organization concerning narcotics use. This was done through mass meetings and the distribution of a policy statement to all staff and trainees. At this point persons who wanted to could resign from the program. After notification a process was set up so that persons who appeared to be substance users would be called in for a conference with the Life-Skills educator and supervisor to discuss the situation. Trainees who admitted use and requested help were given assistance in finding appropriate medical service. Trainees who denied usage, but who appeared to be under the influence of some substance were requested to give a urine sample for analysis. Refusal to take this test was a ground for dismissal from the project. Trainees who did take the test and whose reports were negative were allowed to remain in the program. Those whose tests were positive were referred for treatment, or were released from the program.

Since the urine analysis chromotography test only picked up heroin derivatives, other processes had to be set up to deal with pills and marijuana. Trainees found using marijuana on the premises were referred to the Trainee Student Government Council for action. If a second incident occurred, the trainee could be dismissed from the project.

While these procedures were not fully successful, they did make a significant dent in the problem within the project. TRY continued to have problems outside the project, particularly on pay day when pushers would move into the area, drawn by the more than $20,000 paid out each Friday to approximately 500 trainees. The police were cooperative in handling the pushers outside the project.

The Life-Skills division developed several units on the problems of drug addiction. Former addicts were invited to talk to the group about the risks of drug use and training personnel from the State Narcotics Addiction Control Unit were also invited to put on programs.

Through its testing program, TRY identified approximately 40 trainees as using heroin derivatives. These were all referred for treatment but less than 25% continued beyond the first treatment session. In the continuing testing program for new admissions to the TRY project in 1968, approximately one out of ten applicants was identified as having used a heroin derivative. None of those so identified were admitted to the program.

The limited number of trainees in the TRY project, legal and moral considerations, the limitations of testing procedures, and the plethora of conflicting studies make it hard to draw any conclusions from the experience of the TRY project. We do know that it is critically important for a project to develop policies and procedures to deal with this problem which on the one hand are constructive enough to keep the confidence of the young men, and on the other hand are careful enough so that the reputation of the project remains positive with employers and community agencies. Some beginning hunches about the types of substance users who seek out training programs are outlined in the next chapter.

The New Style Of Student Government

The student government organization of the TRY project, known as the Trainee Council, deserves special attention because of the role it played in the entire project. This discussion is particularly pertinent because of the current debate on the role of students in the overall administration of educational programs.

The Trainee Council was formed shortly after the first trainees came into the TRY project. The purpose of the council in the original design of the project was to provide a means by which the concerns and ideas of the trainees could be organized and brought to the attention of the project management. The council was also seen as a body which would handle a number of trainees' social events, some if not all of the trainee disciplinary problems, the development and management of a trainee newspaper, and as a group which would assist the project leadership in interpreting the project to the community. The council was to be composed of one representative and one alternate from each Life-Skills group plus the officers of the council who would be chosen on a project wide basis.

During the early phases of the project operation while the project was located in a temporary facility in downtown Brooklyn the council met weekly, and at least one of the senior staff of the project sat in on the sessions. The council meetings were usually direct and to the point. The issues of poor food, poor transportation, and late checks, as well as inadequate equipment in the shops were heard frequently. Because the project was growing rapidly and new members were being added to the council every other week the organization was not too stable, but in spite of this, the council did put on several successful social events with the assistance of the recreation staff.

By the end of the summer when most of the trainees were in the project the council became a fairly stable organization. It soon became evident that a militant subgroup within the trainee population had gained control of the council. This had both positive and negative results. It was positive in the sense that the council meetings became a center of attention within the project with a number of staff and trainees attending as observers. One very positive experience occurred almost immediately after the move to the permanent site on Bedford Avenue. As one of his last acts before leaving TRY, the first manager of purchasing had entered into an agreement with the vending company to place a variety of vending machines in the main building of the TRY project and had given this outside firm exclusive rights for vending operations in the building without the approval of TRY management. Concurrently, the Trainee Council was developing a plan whereby TRY would purchase vending machines for use throughout its facilities to be serviced and maintained by the vending mechanics training group in the program. The profits from the vending machines would go to a trainee welfare fund and the council would make loans or outright grants to trainees needing assistance.

When the council found out about the action of the purchasing agent, they set up a boycott of the machines in an effort to get the outside firm to remove them. The council considered all the alternatives and held several negotiating sessions with the manager of the vending company. They consulted with TRY's staff attorney and with the vending instructors so that they were fully informed about the matter and, in the end, after examining the break even points between what they would make if they continued the boycott for the necessary time to force out the outside company, as opposed to the income that would be possible from the increased percentage of profit which the vending company agreed to, they decided to let the vending machines remain until the end of the contract and then to replace them with their own machines. The handling of this whole situation was a real credit to the leadership of the Trainee Council.

The negative aspects of the student council situation were equally evident. Newer class representatives who disagreed with the group in power rarely objected more than once and after several weeks there was no debate between members of the council. Rather, council meetings became interactions between the leaders of the Trainee Council and particular members of the staff usually in the form of questions and demands from the trainees and efforts at explanation or promises of action by the staff representative. In a number of cases this interaction was healthy and speeded up processes within the organization but in a majority of the cases enough antipathy was created that constructive action was slowed down or terminated as a result.

The key to the success or failure of the Trainee Council enterprise at TRY, as in practically every other situation, lay in the hands of the staff advisors to the council. It was recognized that the advisors had a very difficult role to play much as the Dean of Students has to play on a campus where there are student uprisings. It is nearly impossible for a person in this position to maintain his reputation with both the students and the administration unless he is a most effective mediator. It might be appropriate to suggest that graduate schools consider an experience-centered course in student personnel skills as part of their curriculum and as an important part of the training of individuals who will be working with students.

The Constitution developed by the Trainee Council is a most interesting document, as is exemplified by this statement of purposes:

TRY STUDENT COUNCIL CONSTITUTION

Purposes

1. Mediate differences between students and staff.
2. See that students get the best out of the program.
3. Defend the project and insure rights of the trainee.
4. Form a democratic system for the betterment of the program.
5. To prevent exploitation of the program by the trainees and the staff.

This statement of purposes shows that high school dropouts are extremely sensitive to those formal and informal relationships and pressures which effect their status within organizations. This statement offers an interesting corollary to the hypothesis suggested by Elliott (1964) concerning the reactions of capable dropouts to the formal and informal context of educational organizations. It would appear that given an opportunity, dropouts will set up a system which will prevent their weaknesses from being exploited.

The Constitution also provided for an extensive Trainee Court Organization which probably paralleled the experience of a number of these young men who had come into conflict with the law at one time or another. Finally, the Constitution provided for the President of the Council and one other representative to attend meetings of the Board of Directors of TRY in order to provide the Board with a direct report from the Trainee Council.

The Trainee Constitution was accepted by the Board of Directors in the early fall of 1967 and trainees began regularly attending Board Meetings. The participation of this aggressive group of trainees along with the participation of additional staff observers disrupted the next several Board Meetings to the point where the regular business was not completed. This changed, however, when the election of new officers, as provided for in the Constitution, was held in October. The election involved rallies, speeches by elected representatives from the area, and the use of voting machines to prepare trainees for their role as citizens in the city.

As can be seen from this brief presentation, considerable planning and thought needs to be given to the role of student government in an educational institution aimed at disadvantaged youth. Of primary importance is adequate provision for staff advisors to the group and the careful selection of those persons.

The Staff Association

Efforts to organize the TRY staff below the management level began in earnest in October, 1967. Those leading this effort decided they did not want to be part of a larger union for fear of being taken over by an outside group. They also decided to form a staff association instead of a union because they thought this type of organization would be more beneficial. As indicated in the previous chapter, the management of TRY was not opposed to the organization of the staff but they were concerned as to its form and relationship to the total project effort. The management of the project allowed the organizing committee to distribute literature and to hold a meeting of staff interested in the association at the project facility but they also required that the staff association develop its constitution and by-laws and have these documents approved by the Board of Directors.

Prior to submitting the first draft of its constitution, the organizing committee requested a conference with management and there presented its basic demands, which were as follows:

1. Mandatory membership in the Staff Association for all TRY employees below the managerial level.

2. The said Association to be the exclusive bargaining agent for unresolved issues to be presented to the TRY Board of Directors. If issues then remained unresolved, they be submitted to arbitration by NLRB, and finally that staff have the right to strike to settle differences.

3. The said Association to have the right of participation in the development of TRY's Wage and Salary Plan.

4. The said Association to have the right of participation in the writing of job descriptions.

5. The Association to have the right of participation in the development of policy relating to retrenchment, terminations, etc.

6. The Association to have the right of participation in all changes to be made to the Personnel Policy.

7. The said Association to have access to all files, etc. of

the TRY project.

8. The said Association to have an independent communication system to TRY and the freedom of speech and press.

Management indicated to the organizing committee that these demands were unacceptable but that if the organizing committee would develop a constitution and by-laws that discussions could continue. A first draft of the constitution was presented to the Board of Directors at its November meeting and after some discussion was referred back to committee for further work. Another draft of the constitution was made and the issues under consideration were narrowed down to five before the December meeting of the Board. When the matter came up for consideration the representatives of the organizing committee were not prepared to respond to the changes in the constitution which had been recommended by the Executive Committee of the Board. The matter, therefore, was put over to the January meeting of the Board. In late December, the demonstration research phase of the project was terminated which greatly cutback the project's size and scope and further action on the organization of the staff association did not occur.

The organization of a staff association or union within a demonstration-research project needs to be considered carefully. On the one hand, the rights of the staff need to be protected and channels need to be set up so that their recommendations can be considered by the project management. On the other hand, the very limited resources for demonstration-research programs cannot afford the management time and effort necessary to handle protracted labor negotiations, nor can a demonstration-research project respond with the flexibility necessary if it cannot make judicious and prompt changes in the assignment and job responsibilities of its employees. While it was not within the purview of the TRY research design to study the problems of union-like organizations in research projects, it is recommended that some other group be given this responsibility to study the situation and come up with a recommendation which would best achieve the goals of demonstration-research efforts while at the same time protecting the rights of employees.

Negotiations For Refunding the Project

Beginning in July, 1967, the management of the TRY project started preparations for the negotiation of the second year contract that were scheduled to take place in August. Each division reviewed its budget and built a new one based on the first year's experience. A number of modifications were made in the organizational structure but the basic program structure remained intact with the possible exception that the residency program might be deleted. The first negotiation session was held in mid-August. An analysis of the total situation, at that time, which included the heavy pressure that Congress was putting on the Office of Economic Opportunity together with the fact that TRY was underspent on both its contract and grant, suggested that an extension of the contract be made from September 30th to November 30th, 1967. This extension would allow time for Congress to act on the various appropriation measures and would provide Washington officials with a clearer picture of the funding resources which might be available.

In September, at a conference on the research aspects of TRY the representatives from the Office of Economic Opportunity announced that a review would be made by an outside agency of the TRY project's operation before the Office of Economic Opportunity could consider refunding. In light of this development the TRY management requested another two month extension on the contract because the timetable for the evaluation extended to early December.

The firm of Alfred Nellum and Associates was selected by the federal agencies as the organization to evaluate the TRY project and they began work in early November. By this time Congress had acted on the appropriations measures, and had sharply cut the research program of the Office of Economic Opportunity and of other federal agencies. The Bureau of the Budget further complicated matters by not releasing appropriations to the departments to the extent that representatives of federal agencies were restricted from making field visits to programs. In light of these developments TRY management again reviewed its budget and was prepared to cut an additional $600, 000, if necessary, a large portion of which was represented by the residence program. The date for negotiations was changed several times in early December because the Nellum report had not been received. Then with no previous warning the axe fell. On December 20th, federal representatives handed TRY management a letter which stated that no demonstration-research funds would be available to the TRY project beyond its current contract. The effect of this termination and its aftermath are reported in the final section of this chapter.

F. RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT OPERATIONS - CRITICAL INCIDENTS AND ISSUES

Historical Antecedents

The problems faced by the project when it was funded for 4.3 million dollars on July 1, 1966 were numerous and complex. But hopes were high and appetites whetted by the challenge, in spite of the fatigue among the small development staff exhausted after eighteen months of intensive effort. Four separate extensions of N.Y. City Anti-Poverty Operations Board support had been required, with the result that considerable uncertainty existed on an almost month-to-month basis during this critical year. The effect of this uncertainty on morale and on our efforts to recruit high-level professional personnel was profound. Since staff was limited it was absolutely necessary for each staff member to spread himself thin, and to involve himself in the solution of each of the numerous crises that arose. As a result, those individuals who became the core of the research team (Systems Development & Evaluation department) played a critical and continuous role in organizational, financial, administrative, community relations and personnel-recruitment areas as well as actively participating in negotiations, in addition to the preparation of the curriculum and evaluation designs. This was the inevitable price of creating a comprehensive educational institution, in which evaluation was to be an integral part of the initial design of the program.

Initially, we were well aware of the very ambitious nature of the educational and research goals of the project. We assumed that with a maximum output of effort, many of TRY's program and research goals could be well on their way toward achievement by the end of the first fifteen-month contract period, of what was considered to be a minimal three-year effort. Upon reflection, what we did not fully anticipate was the time it takes to develop a new institution to the point where it could support and enhance educational and research objectives.

A Difficult Beginning

Personnel problems were just beginning, however. Within a few weeks serious disappointments began to emerge which were to haunt the program during the whole of the first year. Substantial funds for hiring staff were not forthcoming until September. The newly-hired Director of Life-Skills Education, a most critical and central administrator in this project, submitted his resignation to take an executive position in government. Several individuals who were to constitute the core professional leadership of this division did not accept positions with TRY. As a result, senior leadership of the research division had to assume multiple operating responsibilities. Delays in arranging for completion of the facility were encountered. Community relations plans were found to be inadequate. Trained staff of both races were extremely difficult to locate and employ; at the same time, significant pressure to hire personnel from the community was felt. Reacting to these and other pressures and the burden of an unrealistic schedule for the large intake of trainees starting in November the staff found it difficult, in spite of long hours and hard work, to both build the institution and solve complex developmental problems within the time allotted.

Racial stresses and strains were not long in coming. The initial developmental staff of the project was largely white, yet the target population, the community and the leadership of the Board of Directors was largely Negro. Accusations of discrimination were made covertly and, at a later stage, overtly, by various staff members. These problems, while difficult and disturbing, might have been handled with greater skill had other pressures not continued to mount -- facilities, staffing, the intake of trainees, procedural definitions, the implacable passage of time. The interaction among all of these problems led to a series of delays.

Within a few months the plans for the phasing-in of programs and activities had to be revamped, and this process continued for most of the first year of training operations. Research planning and curriculum development continued however, though not as originally scheduled due to the involvement of most of the key research personnel in critical operations activities such as; screening personnel for program positions, writing of contractual agreements with educational subcontractors, purchasing classroom equipment and supplies, planning office and classroom layouts, etc.

By the end of the first quarter, i.e. September 30, 1966, three important research developments had gone forward. First, the action-research approach and behavioral change model put forth in the Project proposal were amplified and specified by means of suggested investigative procedures, instrumentation and analytic techniques in the first design for research at Project TRY (see the Addendum to the TRY Proposal and see Adkins and Rosenberg and Dineen, Preliminary Evaluation Plan for Project TRY. Second, the Research Advisory Panel had been formed to oversee the Development of research designs of the project. Several individuals of this panel of distinguished researchers made noteworthy contributions to the completed research design mentioned above. Third, basic curriculum and research resources had been laboriously assembled from the professional literature, other projects, publishers and government agencies.

A Pilot Operation Is Begun

Research output during the second quarter of project operation reflected the fact that senior members of this division had, of necessity, to concern themselves with the broader problems of institution-building. Primarily, the senior members of this division had to assume leadership for the Life-Skills division which included the activities of manning and budget revisions; the location, screening, selection, and orientation of Life-Skills Personnel; the assignment to tasks and supervision of Life-Skills Personnel; the purchase of basic audio-visual equipment, curriculum materials and supplies for the operation of the Life-Skills division; and the establishment of an experimental technique for the screening and selection of additional Life-Skills Personnel for the staffing of the Life-Skills division. These tasks as well as responsibilities related to the overall operation of the project had to be the primary focus of the research team in order to insure a solid institutional framework wherein quality evaluation and developmental activities could take place.

The research division became deeply involved in the problem of determining criteria and procedures for teacher selection. Since very little could be found in educational literature as to reliable ways of predicting teacher effectiveness with the disadvantaged student, a Situational Interview Task (SIT) was designed and put into operation. The SIT was a job sample selection technique in which a prospective candidate prepared a lesson and actually attempted to instruct a trainee in a simulated classroom setting. The person playing the role of the trainee was instructed to exhibit a range of behaviors typical of actual trainees. The candidate had to deal with the problems presented by the trainees and get across his subject matter to the best of his ability in a short time, in the presence of three staff members who were rating his performance. At the end of the session he was given the opportunity to rate himself, comment on his performance and be debriefed. The technique was utilized some twenty times, and was felt to be a most promising method for the selection of competent, sensitive Life-Skills Educators. Unfortunately, it had to be discontinued, when the pressures of trainee intake made it impossible to utilize the same raters consistently. Even at this early point in the project's history, the difficulties of coordinating program and research needs became evident.

An Untimely Expansion

In the early days of 1967, approximately six months after funding, the project found itself in very difficult circumstances. The conflicts within staff described earlier had begun to influence most critical decisions. The staff felt frustrated and overworked and, as a result, morale was very low. Inadequate facilities and overcrowded quarters were poorly equipped for training and there were serious shortages in all kinds of necessary educational materials and supplies. The dissatisfaction of trainees had begun to mount, thus further complicating efforts to break in newly hired staff into critical and sensitive positions. As indicated previously, all divisions found themselves noticeably behind schedule. Poor communication between board and staff at that time tended to impede management decision-making particularly in the program areas.

The Trainee Intake Issue

The principal investigators, the Executive Director and the Director and Associate Director of the Systems Development and Evaluation Division for the TRY demonstration-research effort, had responsibility to the funding agencies for insuring that the demonstration described in the TRY proposal and its attendant research was carried out. The leadership of the research division became increasingly concerned with their authority to adequately carry out the development work and research essential to the design. Alarmed by conditions within the project and management plans to continue to accept new trainees into the project on the basis of the planned intake schedule, they decided to take a series of stands on certain issues in order to perserve as much as possible of the basic TRY design.

The obvious point of focus on which a stand had to be taken was the issue of the rate of intake of trainees. The research leadership felt that to maintain the original schedule would seriously foreshorten the necessary lead time for minimally adequate curriculum preparation, teacher training, and research development. Beyond that, it would seriously compound an already inadequate state of readiness for training. In spite of arduous and sustained efforts to convince project management, members of the Board of Directors and Washington officials of the necessity to drastically revise the training intake schedule, the decision was made to maintain a high rate of intake per month so that a full compliment of 600 trainees could be in the project before the anticipated "long hot summer".

As predicted, with the cumulative intake of some 150 trainees by April it became more and more evident that the project was insufficiently prepared to carry out barely minimal training operations. Increasingly vocal expressions of trainee and institutional staff dissatisfaction, not until later, highlighted the growing sense of chaos within the project. General recognition of this state of affairs made it possible for the research development leadership to gain approval for the establishment of a special task force which would have as its primary mission a thorough going analysis of the current state of training readiness, the plan was to staff at all levels leading hopefully to a series of operational plans to bring project operations to adequate levels. It was felt that if the current inadequate state of readiness could be thoroughly documented and a series of solutions developed the issue of rate of trainee intake and other related matters could be rationally resolved. The intent was to develop a crash program to put project TRY on a sound, stable basis and so fulfill both its training and research obligations and its obligations to the trainees.

The executive director, recognizing the need for such a thorough going self evaluation of the project, appointed the Director and Associate Director of the Research and Development Division, the Director of Vocational Training and the Director of Finance. A special task force immediately turned over divisional responsibilities to other senior staff and developed a plan for task force operations. The memorandum which follows was sent to all directors and managers in the project and represented the first stage in the identification of problem areas. The plan was to have each manager and director make a critical evaluation of his current operations. These evaluations were reviewed by the task force in light of overall project priorities. This was followed by specific and direct assignments from the task force to directors and managers to develop specific solutions to the priority problems which had been identified. The coordination and follow up of proposed solutions would remain the responsibility of the task force until an Active Director of Program could be named to assume the most critical program managerial role. This plan was carried out by the following sample Task Force memorandum and reply.

Following several weeks of intensive activity an Interim Task Force Report was submitted to the Executive Director and to an emergency session of the Executive Committee of the Board of Directors. This report, presented in full on pages 3-19 to 3-83, covered a wide range of programatic and institutional issues and problems.

Following additional weeks of inquiry a second report was submitted specifically calling for the stoppage of trainee intake and the appointment of a Director of Program to continue the functions of the Task Force related to program operations.

Recommendations From The Second Task Force Report

1. Appoint as the Director of Vocational Training Acting Program Coordinator over the Life-Skills, Vocational Education, Youth Services and S. D. &E. Divisions. Give him full backing to take the necessary steps to make the program operate successfully. He may need to reassign or terminate staff and should be given support in these actions.

2. Stop all trainee intake until step one is accomplished. Hold Program Coordinator responsible for presenting to a detailed recommendation about the future intake rate backed up by estimates of space, staff, curriculum, equipment availabilities.

3. Disband the task force and transfer to Program Coordinator the responsibility for completing the policy and procedure action plans over the next several months, with authority to implement whatever plans he and Executive Director deem necessary immediately.

4. Hold weekly meetings between senior staff and the Executive Committee until the Board is thoroughly familiar with the Directors and their responsibilities and the crisis of confidence is passed.

Thus a very concerted effort was made by the leadership of the Systems Development and Evaluation Division to carry out its function of an ongoing evaluation of project activities and the feedback of such information to the highest levels of the organization so that adequate training, development and research could take place. The effort to fulfill this obligation had consumed a major portion of the time of the research leadership during the period from the end of February, 1967 through April. As a result, the thrust that could have been given to a systematic development of curriculum and research instrumentation and procedures during this period was instead expended on efforts to insure the survival of the project. This was a conscious decision and a calculated risk that it would lead to the kind of reform within the project which would make possible the eventual full implementation of the original project design. The alternative was to have turned a blind eye to the general lack of readiness, and to acquiesce in the decision to admit 600 trainees prior to the "long hot summer", in the full knowledge that conditions were such that they could well lead to a summer of explosive violence in the project itself. It was a judgement of the research leadership that if such an explosion occurred, TRY as an organization would not survive the summer. An inevitable result of the decision to carry out the Task Force plan was the development of curriculum and research systems was even further delayed.

As noted, the second Task Force Report called for the appointment of a Director of Program and the immediate suspension of trainee intake, in order to complete the Task Force assignment that had been started. The newly appointed Director of Program shortly thereafter terminated the work of the Task Force and assigned specific tasks to each division. Also, the managment of the project made the decision to continue trainee intake as staffing and facility would allow. While positive forces had been set in motion by the Task Force which were later to bear fruit, one of the major objectives of the Task Force, i.e., to achieve a basis for the determination of trainee intake rate consistent with the requirements to achieve the demonstration and research objectives of the project, was not accomplished.

Painful Decisions

Thus by May it had become abundantly clear to the leadership of the Research and Development Division, given the failure of the Task Force to accomplish its purposes, that a major effort should be made to bolster the research and development component of the project. Intensive

Intensive efforts were made to gain moral support from the Board by the formation of a special committee on the research and development and to gain the support of federal officials through a series of special meetings. While Board and governmental officials were sympathetic and recognized in theory that the area of research was important, they basically did not perceive the TRY project as a research program. Consequently, the research leadership found itself in an increasingly isolated position and unable to gain sufficient support within the project to carry out testing and curriculum development operations. After considering with federal officials ways by which the research and development components could continue under some other auspices such as an university it became apparent that for a variety of reasons these arrangements could not be worked out. On the basis of a judgement that it was no longer possible to carry out minimally adequate research and developmental tasks in an atmosphere where training itself could become a day to day crisis and where there was inadequate support for research and development operations, the Director and Associate Director of the division very reluctantly and painfully concluded that they had no alternative but to resign.

Following this decision the Director and Assistant Director assisted in the transfer of divisional responsibilities to the new Acting Director and devoted several months to the completion of a comprehensive action research design for manpower training programs. The design included a suggested staging of research activities at TRY based on a realistic assessment of then current conditions.

During the fall months they participated in several research conferences with federal officials and continued to provide technical assistance to the research staff.

Continued Research Efforts And Accomplishments

Despite these problems, however, several accomplishments were hammered out during this quarter and these are described briefly below:

1) The testing program was continued for all incoming trainees despite the fact that the relocation at Bedford-Stuyvesant caused the relocation of testing facilities several times until stable spacial allocations could be made for the entire project operation.

2) Work was begun on a detailed counseling interview form that would provide the intake data for counseling evaluation.

A preliminary form was drafted with the help of a consultant from Bank Street College of Education. Plans were made for the development of evaluation methods for use in the Life-Skills classes with consultants from this institution and for the vocational training areas with consultants from industry and governmental agencies.

3) A diagnostic evaluation and workup for the Metropolitan Achievement Tests was devised and reports on all trainees tested to that date were prepared and made available to Life-Skills educators. These reports provided valuable information for basic skills remediation for each trainee and for curriculum preparation and lesson planning.

4) A survey of trainee attitudes toward the project was completed and the results were reported to the supervision of the various program divisions and to the administration. It was hoped that much of this material would be used to improve the services to the trainees and to increase the relevancy of curriculum and training methods to trainees' needs and interests.

Personnel Shortages

The search for a new Director of Research began in earnest with the beginning of the fifth quarter. Despite efforts of Advisory Panel Members, Board Members, the Executive Director and the Personnel Department the search remained fruitless and only one candidate seriously considered, and rejected, the position. As a holding operation, two senior level specialists, one in research and one in curriculum, were made Assistant Directors, the latter also assuming the responsibility of Acting Director of the research department.

But the departure of the senior research leadership unavoidably created great apprehensiveness throughout the division. The two Research Associates, mentioned above, left during this quarter. Two research associates sought and accepted promotions to positions within other divisions of the project, one left for personal reasons and another resigned to secure a more stable and secure position. Through intensive recruitment efforts three of the Research Assistants and one of the Research Associates were replaced. Through their efforts several achievements were possible during the summer months of 1967 including: continuation of testing efforts, the beginning of research staff training seminars, preliminary efforts at developing a more culture-fair reading test (see appendix), and the rectification of the intake data morass described more fully below.

Data Collection Problems

At the beginning of this fifth quarter the demographic data bank, gathered from the Intake Questionnaire was in a state of serious disarray and incompletion. Copies of the questionnaire had ceased flowing to the Research Division altogether. Inspection of the Youth Services Division files revealed that even this division, the origin of these invaluable records did not have complete files of them. The Deputy Director organized an all out hunt to locate them and the Research Division supplied the personnel to retrieve and duplicate them. One full time Research Assistant, two full time statistical clerks and two full time temporary clerks spent eight full weeks on this tedious task alone. At the end of that time nearly 1000 applications were copied and filed but fully 117 applications were missing of trainees who were or had been in the program. There was, of course, no way of telling how many applications were missing of those who never entered the project since no other records of these persons were made. Since that time 84 applications have been recovered of those missing from the active files (those who were or had been in the program).

Finally, after many weeks of coding in which the Research Division had to bear the burden of retaining the temporary clerical help, mentioned above, the 1000 applications were ready for keypunch and computerization. More than 800 of them were rejected by the computer because of missing or inconsistent data. A too rigid computer program, clerical errors and inadequate supervision of the coding are responsible for a good number of rejects and steps were taken to remedy these errors, viz. the program was redesigned along more flexible lines, the coding sheets were cross checked and a senior level person was located with EDP experience to supervise the task from that point on.

In retrospect several serious administrative errors were largely responsible for this tragic loss of data. A redesigned Intake Questionnaire, prepared for the Youth Services Division by a consultant to the Research Division had never been implemented. Submitted in May after long hours of discussion and revision by inter-divisional senior staff the form was prepared for snap-apart carbon copies and was designed for easy coding and keypunching. Copies of this form were supposed to be forwarded immediately to Life-Skills, Research and Central Records Files. The form was never printed and the responsibility for this rests squarely with the former director of that division. The cumbersome interim form, requiring Xerox copying was bound to be inadequate. It looked amateurish and the forwarding procedure depended upon the vagaries of the perfomance of overloaded copying equipment and inadequate clerical staffing.

On the technical side, research staff supervision of the quality and completeness of the filling in of these forms broke down early in the summer when extensive staff changes occurred. The decision to concentrate on testing data with available clerical help was a fateful one that had serious and far reaching consequences. Subsequently, the decision was made to redesign this form along a more streamlined computer based format and this was accomplished. The need for staff training in the critical importance of this record keeping process also received explicit attention and was to be included in the implementation of the new form. Interviewer performance would be evaluated in part on the adequancy of the forms he processes, from that point on.

The subsequent strengthening of the administration of the Youth Services Division did much to eliminate the type of problem mentioned here. The creation of the Program Director position also enhanced the responsible cooperation between the research division and the program arms of the project.

Testing Data

The collection of testing data was more successful during the fifth quarter than it had been prior and more effective than the collection of demographic data. It was not any less burdensome however. Because of the high level of trainee absenteeism and various growing problems that the institution had, it still took every bit of three to four weeks to complete entry testing. The testing facility had to be relocated three times, confusing staff and trainees alike. Testing schedules were cancelled without notice by everyone from the top administrators to Life-Skills supervision and the testing personnel. The cooperation of Life-Skills staff could only be requested and hoped for, and was often sadly lacking. Training management problems usually superseded the collection of this valuable one-time-only data. The personal attention of Assistant Director of the Life-Skills division and the Executive Director began to shape things up a bit but nevertheless, the last testing cycle was one of the worst, requiring virtually six weeks to complete.

Feedback of testing data to program staff was inadequate and this vitiated their motivation to cooperate in the testing effort. Basic skills data had been fed back for most of the present Life-Skills groups but nothing else. Test scoring services were arranged with the Psychological Corporation on the premise that a one week or less return of results could be had from them. In fact, they were not able to deliver in less than four to five weeks.

The First And Last Research Review

The fifth quarter of project operations culminated with the first and only full-scale federal review of research and development activities. Research questions had been reviewed by individual federal officials from time-to-time both in Washington via conferences with project administrators and during site visits to the training operation. In fact, it was during one of the latter, a visit by federal officials in the spring of 1967, that first indications of lack of federal support for research efforts became apparent. At that time, one senior Washington official in answering questions at a project wide staff meeting, affirmed that the major purpose of the project was service to the trainees and that research requisites were to be considered subservient to the needs of providing that service. Coming at a time of severe internal difficulty around research and management problems this did much to encourage dissident staff and board members to frustrate the research and development efforts and to attempt to compromise all issues in favor of service considerations.

One of these instances, occurring in April, 1967, became a critical issue of the September review meeting. The sampling guidelines for the training population, provided in the research design, were intended to insure the widest possible generality of any research findings the project might achieve. The necessity to exclude worthy applicants, as always, caused a great deal of disappointment and anger among trainees, staff, and board members who could not understand explanations of the importance of sampling for research evaluation. Based on expressed requirements from the contract officers of the three funding agencies, the sampling guidelines were maintained for subsequent recruitment cycles. Yet at the same time, great pressure was applied to have large numbers of trainees in the project before the summer began. The inconsistency between these demands was never mentioned in questions raised later about the completeness of the sampling and research data.

G. EFFORTS TO START A PROGRAM DATA FEEDBACK SYSTEM

Purpose And Function

The importance of establishing an effective system of program information feedback is stated in both the TRY proposal (Chapter VI) in the TRY Research Design (Chapter III). The purpose of such a system is to provide a basis for intelligent decision-making at least at four levels within the organization, and also to provide a "program audit trail" so that the follow-up analysis and evaluation of program outcomes, can trace back those factors which may have had the greatest impact in producing growth or change in the trainee.

The four levels of decision making were the trainee, staff, management, and board levels. The goal of the data feedback system for the trainee was to organize information from Life-Skills, basic skills, vocational training and youth services so that he could see his progress on a month-to-month basis and more frequently if possible. At the staff level, the purpose of the feedback system was to integrate information about the trainees in the group for which each staff person was responsible, so staff could have an overall sense of what was happending to their group of trainees. At the project management level the program data feedback system hopefully would provide up-to-date summaries regarding attendance, progress of trainees by class group, operational information about class size and instructional workloads and a picture of the priorities for developmental work or procurement to enhance the program. At the board level summaries of such information would be useful to show the status of the program in the same way that the financial reports showed the status of the project's economic well-being. Finally at community level, abstracts of data plus anecdotal reports would be useful in interpreting the TRY program and in maintaining good communication with co-operating agencies.

The secondary purpose of the proposed program data feedback system was to create a primary source of information for the analysis and evaluation of project results. The TRY research design was essentially a "change research" model. Its purpose was to describe and evaluate changes in individuals and groups in order to determine as far as possible what factors in the program produced the change. Such a design calls for the collection of detailed information about trainees and staff as they enter the program, and a similar collection of information upon graduation followed by additional studies anticipated on a six months and yearly schedule after graduation. Added to these before and after evaluations, must be detailed organized information about what happened during the time the person was in the program.

Based on the experience of industry the development of such a comprehensive feedback system is at minimum a two to five year process. In light of this, the purpose of the program data feedback system for the first several years was seen primarily as the gradual development of information feedback techniques which later would be welded together to become a total operational feedback system. This first stage effort was undertaken by the program divisions of TRY because the Systems Development and Evaluation Division had its hands full attempting to establish and operate a comprehensive system of before and after tests, evaluations, and data collection processes.

The Search For A Program Data Feedback Model

The search for an effective model was a long and arduous one. The monitoring processes used in industry for quality control purposes appeared to be the closest thing to what we were looking for. If possible we wanted a continuous monitoring of events with scaled evaluations of fluctuations and with reports of all inputs and outputs from the beginning to the end of the process. But social processes are not as easily directed as production lines. The feelings and attitudes of people are neither easily nor continuously capable of being tapped, and the instrumentation to measure change in psychosocial phenomenon are in their infancy compared with measurement techniques in the physical sciences. Therefore, we had to look elsewhere for our model. Models from social psychology and from theories of organizational administration were also examined and found not to be precise enough for our needs. Finally the therapeutic and case study models were considered, but these appeared to be too cumbersome and time consuming to implement. Project representatives discussed this problem with psychologists, management consultants, business and social agency executives, and also requested the assistance of the research arms of the three funding agencies to help in locating an effective model.

Purely by chance when seeking assistance to deal with the narcotics problem in the project, TRY representatives stumbled on a therapeutic monitoring and evaluation model which had been implemented and tested for nearly a year. This model and system which was particularly adaptable to the TRY project, was the work of Prof. Richard Brotman and his staff at New York Medical College. Their model called for a well structured interaction between the monitoring system and the program of action, with each having a possible effect upon the other. The program would suggest a series of questions about operations and outcomes which would lead to the collection of data about those questions. The data would reflect back upon the program and suggests changes. In adopting this kind of model, one has to be willing to take a position, state the explicit reasons for taking that position, and then be willing to change in the light of new data. The model requires an intimate interaction between those carrying on the program and those who are developing the monitoring system, interestingly, an interaction very similar to the type required for an effective experience-centered life-skills curriculum.

After a series of conferences, a consulting agreement was developed with Dr. Brotman to work cooperatively with the TRY program management and staff in the development of a first stage program data feedback system.

Preliminary Steps

The statement of work for this special project within the overall TRY program first called for conferences to be held with appropriate TRY personnel to identify the precise areas in which feedback information was necessary and the types of information that were desired in each. Because the implementation of any kind of feedback program required the full cooperation of instructional personnel, a representative from each instructional group was to be involved in the development of the instruments and given training in the use of the instruments so that he, in turn, could train others in his particular group.

Our goal was to develop and test out four or five prototype instruments to collect the most needed data. The instruments were to be drafted in a form which would facilitate coding, keypunching and processing the materials into computers. Concurrently with the development effort, senior staff training seminars would be held to give this group advance training in the range of uses of feedback data in the field of education and to plan the type of continuing staff training program necessary to implement and maintain the feedback system.

Decisions About The Type Of Information Needed

From the first five conferences held between Dr. Brotman's staff and the group from TRY, the areas in which information was needed were defined. First in priority was the need for a knowledge of what the real life of each trainee was like. This information went considerably beyond the type of data available in the intake questionnaire and was critically important in order that the Life-Skills educator might assess what factors were most likely affecting the trainees in his group, what kind of curriculum units might be most relevant, and to offer springboards for discussion in the individual counseling interviews with his trainees. This information included a detailed description of the trainee, how he felt about himself and those persons who were close to him, a series of self-ratings and a projection of what he would like to be, a detailed discussion about relationships with a wide variety of organizations including hospitals, social service, companies for which he might have worked, etc. It also concentrated on his living arrangements, his family, his recreational activities, and ended with a rather detailed description of how he spent a complete day during the preceding weekend.

Second in importance was the need for information about what happened in counseling interviews. It seemed important to know who initiated the interview, what key problems were discussed, how the trainee felt about them, what kinds of suggestions the counselor made, and what agreements for action had been made by the trainee or the staff member.

Thirdly, it was deemed important to have regular information on how things were proceeding in the Life-Skills classroom including the objective of the class period, the type of educational approach being used, and the general reaction of the trainees to the session.

Finally, it seemed important to have detailed information when the trainee left a project: how he felt about his experience at TRY, a careful review of many of the same items that were discussed when he first came into the program about his way of life, his friends, his goals, etc. It was also deemed advisable to collect the same kind of information from the trainees, at least twice during the first year after he graduated from the project. Furthermore, information from his employers during this period was deemed to be valuable for both the vocational training program and the Life-Skills education program.

After discussing the range of information desired, the conferences turned to the types of forms needed to collect this data, and how to make it useful to the project. The forms fell into three categories: interview schedules, interview and program report forms, and control forms. The control form was to be used in the review of the trainee's progress each month between the instructor and his supervisor, or whenever there was a major change in the trainee's status in the program such as change from one course to another, a major change in his attitude or attendance pattern, etc.

Development Of The Forms

Six forms were developed for the initial test out of the system. The first of these was an eleven page interview schedule to be used by the Life-Skills educator during the orientation period with a new Life-Skills group. The second was an individual contact form which was to be used by Life-Skills educators, Vocational Instructors, Social Workers, Attorneys, and other program staff, whenever they had a personal contact or interview of significance with a trainee. This form was a brief, one page instrument, to report the purpose of the interview, the concerns of the trainee, the main ideas expressed by the staff member, and any actions by either the staff person or the trainee which had been agreed upon in the contract. The third instrument was a report form on the plans for the Life-Skills education program of the week. A companion form provided a means for summarizing what had actually happened in the Life-Skills class during the preceding week so that the supervisors of the Life-Skills educators and the curriculum development staff would have some notion as to how the planned program worked out or if it was changed what really was covered in the session. The fifth form was a re-interview schedule to be used as trainees completed the program. This eight page form covered the same areas as the initial interview schedule and in addition asked several general questions about the trainee's experience at TRY. The final instrument was the status of the case form which was to be used as the control instrument mentioned above.

Implementing The First Stage

Crucial to the success of any information feedback system is the cooperation of the persons who must implement it and their conviction as to the value of the process. We had been careful to select instructors who were highly thought of by the Life-Skills educators to be a part of the feedback system development group. This group included several persons who were involved in the organization of the Staff Association, and key people from both the Youth Services and Vocational Training divisions.

Our strategy for the implementation of the system was to introduce one instrument at a time beginning with the interview schedule, and to train the staff in its use in such a way that they would experience its value to their work almost immediately and thus be more willing to cooperate with the next phase of the system. At the same time, improvements would be made in the instruments based on the experience and recommendations of those using the form.

Between the time that the first draft of the instruments were prepared, and the implementation was begun, a cataclysmic event occurred, namely, the termination of the demonstration and research aspects of the project. This event postponed for nearly two months any further work on the program data feedback system. Primarily due to the tenacity of the TRY staff the first step in implementing the data feedback system was begun in February, 1968. In preparation for the intake of new trainees under the revised TRY manpower project, Dr. Brotman, together with members of the TRY staff held five training sessions with Life-Skills educators, Vocational Instructors, and Intake and Recruitment staff members on the use of the interview schedules.

A total of sixty interview forms were completed and summarized by electronic data processing. This first stage effort worked out very well and suggests that given time, a modest sense of permanence and a small professional staff that a program data feedback system could work.

Several efforts were made to begin use of the individual contact form, but the heavy press of new trainees in the program together with the fact that the staff had been cut in half made it impossible to continue. It would appear that the price of an effective program data feedback system in terms of time, effort and money is still far too high for a demonstration and research programs which must exist on year to year funding and must produce complete results within each annual time frame in order to warrant their continued experience.

H. TERMINATION OF THE RESEARCH-DEMONSTRATION PHASE

An Abrupt Termination

On December 20, 1967, representatives of the federal agencies handed TRY management a letter which stated, "Under circumstances dictated by the overall limitation of federal funds available for the fiscal year 1968, and because of the results of the monitoring evaluation of the TRY program over its term by federal representatives and of the evaluation by A. L. Nellum and Associates during the month of November, 1967, the government has made a determination not to extend additional funding to TRY, INC."

This apparent complete termination of project activity was only partially relieved by a later paragraph, which stated, "The three government agencies concerned will make every effort to assure continuation of vocational and employability skill training for residents of the Bedford-Stuyvesant area after January 31, 1968, or such later date as an approved financial plan of operation may stipulate."

This extremely unexpected decision, coming as it did only three months after the project reached full operational level and only a month before the end of the contract period, gave the TRY organization at maximum five working days to respond to this crisis, and to develop an alternative program to see that training continued for the five hundred young men actively involved in the program.

Issues In The Termination Of The Demonstration And Research Phase

Discussions were held on December 20th with federal representatives to clarify the issues involved in the termination. A central issue that extended far beyond the TRY project was the general decision on the part of the government to cut back drastically on demonstration and research functions as part of the economy move needed to finance the war in Vietnam and to meet the growing congressional pressure for reduced federal spending. Programs receiving demonstration and research funds were particularly vulnerable to this kind of economy move because they were not tied closely to the political system nor were they part of any ongoing state or municipal system which could help.

The TRY project was particularly vulnerable because research in the social sciences is in a tertiary position behind research for defense and health. TRY officials learned later that appropriations for the subsections of the laws under which the TRY project was funded had been cut at least in half and in one case to less than 25% of what it has been the previous year. One federal official stated that had there not been a major cutback in demonstration and research funds, that this drastic action would not have been taken although a number of changes in the TRY operation would have been required.

The second major issue in the termination of TRY demonstration and research funds was whether or not TRY had met its first year research objectives. Almost one-third of the substance of the Nellum report was devoted to this area alone. The TRY response to the Nellum report filed with the federal government on January 5th, 1968 responds to the numerous inaccuracies and distortions in this report. The first year research goals stated in "A Design For Action Research at Project TRY," which was accepted by the federal government in October, 1967, clearly had been accomplished. These included the collection of intake data on trainees, the establishment of procedures for organizing and analyzing this data, the development of a curriculum materials center and trainee library, the organization of the Life-Skills curriculum, and the development of several multi-media kits. The research design clearly stated that no analysis of data was appropriate during the first year that the trainees were in the project, as such analysis as was proposed by the design called for a comparison of intake and exit data, with the primary effort in analysis being to describe the major changes which had taken place in the trainee population during that period. Thus the first full scale analysis of data was not planned to occur until the late spring of 1968.

Another issue was TRY's capability to complete its research goals in the future. In summary, the most serious gap in TRY's capability to handle research at the time of the Nellum report, was manpower. Both the director and the associate director of the division resigned with only two months remaining in the TRY contract period. The fact that TRY received two additional extensions beyond the first contract termination date does not change the fact that an able researcher will not consider a position which guarantees at most only two months employment. Whether or not TRY could have developed the capacity to handle its ambitious research objectives must remain forever an unanswered question, but it seems highly likely to us that the problem could have been solved through a combination of contracts with local universities and through the maintenance of a small research services group within the project itself.

The other issue in the termination centered around the project's timetable of production and its management capability to continue to produce on the demonstration phase of the program. The previous sections of this chapter have attempted to outline fairly and directly the problems which the demonstration aspects of the project encountered, and management's response to those problems. The question of TRY's ability to continue to meet program goals is shown in the outcomes recorded in chapter four of this report. In spite of the major disruption created by the termination of the research phase, the production of the TRY project was superior to that reported by some of the best Job Corps Camps in the country. The record speaks for itself.

A final issue in the "termination process" has to do with the manner in which it was handled. TRY received its notice of termination of demonstration and research funds before it had an opportunity to know anything of the content of the evaluation report, much less having any opportunity to respond to what were deemed to be the report's gross inaccuracies and misrepresentations. In view of the fact that the report was mentioned as one of the reasons for the termination of the grant, project officials had to question the purpose of the evaluation of the TRY project. It appeared that the purpose of the evaluation was not to conduct a fair, balanced evaluation of the project, but rather to gather evidence detrimental to the project which could be used by at least one of the funding agencies as an excuse to withdraw its funds. It seemed highly probable that the conclusions had already been reached for budgetary reasons before the evaluators came to the project. The TRY response to the Nellum report also deals with this issue.

Response to the Termination Notification: A New Contract is Secured

In six working days the TRY staff developed a response to the termination notice which included a detailed reaction to the points made in the Nellum report, a proposal to convert the TRY project into a special youth training project deleting the research and special demonstration aspects of the program, a detailed supporting budget equal to about one half of the first year TRY budget, and a list of actions which the organization had been required to take with regard to leases and contracts in response to the government's action. Through a series of meetings in Washington and Albany the staff was able to negotiate a new contract which would bring the TRY project under the manpower program of the State of New York effective March 1, 1968. In the provisions of this new agreement it was possible for all the trainees under the original agreement to complete their training as well as for an additional three hundred new trainees to be brought in to the program and trained for a six month period.

By January 17, the new agreement was approved and funded, so that it was possible to assure staff and trainees alike of the continuation of the TRY program.

As part of the provision for the completion of the research grant it was possible to arrange for the collection of outcome data on the first group of TRY trainees and for that information to be incorporated into this final report on the demonstration and research aspects of the program. The last of the original TRY trainee group completed training during the summer months of 1968 and data on this group is incorporated in the following chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR

ANALYSIS OF DATA

A. Introduction
B. The Trainee Population
C. Psychological Test Data
D. Program Data
E. Program Outcome Data
F. Characteristics Of Training and Placement Outcome Groups
G. The Life-Skills Education Staff

A. INTRODUCTION

Problems On Which This Study Is Focused

The TRY project was originally designed to be a three to five year demonstration-research effort. The research design, *A Design for Action Research at Project TRY*, submitted in September, 1967, spells out in detail the range of problems, the variables to be studies, the instruments and measures proposed to be used, the statistical methodology, and the schedule for implementation of the research design over this 36 to 60 month period. Much of this material is summarized in Section B of Chapter Two of this report. It will be useful to the reader to review this section of the report before proceeding with this chapter.

In light of the fact that the demonstration-research aspects of this program were terminated only 12 months from the date that the first trainees came into the program and one month before the first graduates moved out of the program, much of the work proposed in the research design was unable to be completed. Perhaps most regrettable is the fact that the termination of the research phase precluded the possibility of gathering exit testing and interview data on the trainees so that these important indices of change could have been included in this analysis.

In light of this major limitation this analysis will concentrate upon the following problems:

1. Description of the trainee population in terms of the sample projected in the research design. Issues related to the definition of the sample, the method of achieving the sample, and implications for research will be discussed.
2. Description of the trainee population in terms of other demographic factors.
3. Analysis of psychological testing data on the trainee.
4. Analysis of program data available on trainees.
5. Analysis of program outcome data on trainees.

6. Comparison studies of graduates and dropouts of the TRY program.
7. Comparisons within the group of graduates among those having training-related jobs, attending college, joining the military, and residual.
8. Comparison of known drug users with the remaining trainee population.
9. Description of characteristics of instructional personnel.
10. The relationship of basic ability factors to other selected factors in the analysis.
11. The relationship of measured interests to selected factors in the analysis.
12. An analysis of program variables with regard to selected factors.
13. An analysis of program outcome variables with regard to selected factors.
14. Guidelines for differential educational strategies for subpopulations of disadvantaged youth.

Since this is basically an exploratory study some sections will also include suggestions for further studies.

Variables And Sources Of Data

The data used in the following analysis come from a wide variety of sources including intake questionnaires, psychological tests, attendance records, classroom instructor ratings, medical reports, placement records, and followup studies. The following outline will present the major classifications of data available and their sources.

1. Knowledge And Skills Of Trainees

    a. Vocational Skills: The measurement of skill development in the vocational training area was based on an intragroup rating given each week by the vocational training instructor. The Vocational Training rating ranged from a low of zero to a high of 5.0. Three was considered average and trainees who performed above the average of the group were given higher ratings while conversely those not doing as well were scored below 3. Instructors were asked during the first four months of training not to put a major emphasis upon the time it took for a trainee to complete a unit in the vocational training program, but rather to judge him on the quality of his work. Toward the end of the given trainee's program speed of work became more important as timed work samples were given to prepare students for the expectations of employers. For purposes of analysis, the weekly ratings were averaged into an overall rating for each trainee.

In a further effort to provide a perspective on the vocational ratings, the average rating during the last third of the time the trainee was in the program was calculated and compared with the total rating. If this average was more than 3/10ths of a point above the total average then the Direction of the Vocational Training Rating was rated as UP. If the average was 3/10ths of a point or more below average, the direction of the rating was defined as DOWN. If the rating during the last third of the trainee's time within the project was less than 3/10ths of a point from the overall average his rating was considered LEVEL.

b. Reading Comprehension: Measures of reading comprehension came from two sources, The Metropolitan Achievement Test Reading Comprehension Instrument and The Gates-McGinitie Reading Comprehension Test. The Gates-McGinitie was given prior to intake and since there is some question concerning the validity of results on the last several groups of trainees to be tested, because some of them had been told not to do too well or they would be excluded from the project, results from the McGinitie are not included in the analysis in this report. The Metropolitan Achievement Test, Intermediate Series, was given during the first three to six weeks the trainees were in the project and therefore represents a fairly accurate estimate of a scaled reading comprehension rate at intake.

c. Word Knowledge: Word knowledge was measured by The Metropolitan Achievement Test, intermediate range subtest on word knowledge. This variable is basically a measure of vocabulary and represents words that occur most frequently in reading materials at the fifth and sixth grade levels.

d. Spelling: The measure of spelling ability is based on the recognition type test of The Metropolitan series which required the trainee to judge whether a word is spelled correctly or not. If he judges it to be incorrect, then he must provide the correct spelling.

e. Language Usage: This variable is measured by the language subtest of the MAT series and deals with the ability of the trainee to identify simple parts of speech and to understand the proper use of punctuation and capitalization. Separate scores are available to provide diagnostic value from the instrument.

f. Language Study Skills: Source of this data is from the MAT subtest on language study skills, intermediate edition. It measures the skills in the proper use of the dictionary and familiarity with several types of standard references.

g. Arithmetic Computation Skills: This variable is a measure of skill in handling fundamental operations with whole numbers, decimals and fractions.

h. Arithmetic Problem Solving Skills: This variable deals with understanding concepts behind arithmetic processes as well as generalizations and principles involved in measurement and arithmetic relationships. Emphasis is on reasoning with numbers in social situations. Only very simple computational skills are required and the reading level is kept at the lowest possible level. Source of data on this variable is the MAT intermediate level arithmetic problem solving and concepts test.

i. General Learning Ability: The general index of overall learning ability is based on the results of the Army Beta Intelligence Test, a civilian edition of an earlier

Army General Classification Test. It is normed on a very large sample of young adults.

j. Mechanical Comprehension Aptitude: Data for this variable comes from the Bennett Mechanical Comprehension Test, Form AA, designed for high school students. The test presents a series of simple pictures dealing with basic mechanical processes and principles. The language level is kept particularly low and the major requirement is for the analysis of what is happening in the drawing. The norm group is high school boys at the tenth grade level.

2. Expressed And Measured Vocational Interests Of Trainees

a. Vocational Training Course Preference At Entry: Training course preference was requested as part of the intake information on the first 300 trainees admitted to the program. Thereafter, for reasons unknown to the investigators, this information was not recorded.

b. Mechanical Interest: This variable and the five that follow are based upon The Minnesota Vocational Interest Inventory. This instrument was selected because: 1) the interest areas measured were closest to the areas in which training was being provided at TRY; 2) the reading level required by the instrument was the lowest among such instruments; 3) the test was normed on persons training for these occupations.

c. Food Service Interest: Minnesota Vocational Interest Inventory.
d. Electronics Interest: Minnesota Vocational Interest Inventory.
e. Office Work Interest: Minnesota Vocational Interest Inventory.
f. Clean Hands Word Interest: Minnesota Vocational Interest Inventory
g. Outdoor Work Interest: Minnesota Vocational Interest Inventory.

h. Mechanical Work Interest: Data for this variable and the eight which follow comes from The Weingarten Picture Interest Inventory (PII). This instrument differs from the

Minnesota Vocational Interest Inventory in that the trainee is asked to select among a series of pictures of work activities which he prefers the most and which he least likes. The non-verbal quality of this instrument makes it particularly appropriate for a population whose reading skills and language abilities are somewhat limited. While the validity studies on the PII are not as extensive as they are on the Minnesota, the data is important as part of an exploratory study.

i. Business Interest: Picture Interest Inventory.
j. Interpersonal Work Interest: Picture Interest Inventory.
k. Nature Interest (Outdoor Work): Picture Interest Inventory.
l. Esthetic Interest: Picture Interest Inventory.
m. Scientific Interest: Picture Interest Inventory
n. Verbal Activity Interest: Picture Interest Inventory.
o. Computational Work Interest: Picture Interest Inventory.
p. Time Perspective Interest: Picture Interest Inventory.

3. Trainee Personal And Social Adjustment

a. Personal Adjustment: The personal adjustment variable comes from the subscale of the California Test of Personality. This instrument was selected because of its low reading level and its focus which is more oriented to health than to pathology. The instrument is normed on high school age youth.

b. Social Adjustment: California Test of Personality
c. Total Adjustment: California Test of Personality

4. Biographical Factors

a. Age: Data comes from intake questionnaire and represents age at date of entry into the project.

b. Address: Data comes from intake questionnaire and represents the borough of New York City in which the trainee resided at intake.

c. Primary Language Spoken At Home: Data comes from intake questionnaire which asked for primary language spoken by the trainee and by each of his parents.

d. Marital Status: Data comes from intake questionnaire.

e. Number Of Dependents: Data comes from intake questionnaire. In addition to wife and children may include siblings of the trainee.

f. Ethnic Backgrounds: Data comes from intake questionnaire. Three groups were included: Negro, Puerto Rican and Caucasian.

g. Birthplace: Data comes from intake questionnaire and was identified by state. Further summarization was made to areas including: deep south, middle south, west, northcentral, northeast (outside of New York City), New York City, Puerto Rico and other Islands.

h. School Grade Completed: Data comes from intake questionnaire. In some cases it was corroborated by records from the school.

i. Year Left School: Data comes from intake questionnaire and gives an index of how long the trainee has been away from a school setting.

j. Reason For Leaving School: Data comes from intake questionnaire.

k. Type Of High School Course: Data comes from intake questionnaire and in some cases is corroborated by school records.

l. Previous Project Experience: Data comes from intake questionnaire and provides an index as to the number and type of other programs for disadvantaged youths in which TRY trainees had been involved.

m. Months Of Work Experience At Entry: Data comes from intake questionnaire but is highly dubious because when coded for computer use two categories (no data and zero months work experience) were combined.

n. Referral Source: Data comes from intake questionnaire and refers to primary source through which the trainee came to TRY.

o. Probation Or Parole Status: Data comes from intake questionnaire and in all cases was confirmed by conference with authorities. Positive status means the trainee was on probation or parole at entry into the project.

p. Draft Status: Status with selective service at entry comes from presentation of draft card to the intake worker, the 17 year olds had not been classified.

q. Health Self-Rating At Entry: Source of data is intake questionnaire.

r. Employment At Entry: Data comes from intake questionnaire and may be somewhat spurious because unemployment may have been considered by candidates for the project as a more positive grounds to insure admission to the project.

5. Program Information On Trainees

a. Medical Evaluations: Medical examinations were performed on a majority of the trainees who entered the TRY project. Many trainees attempted to avoid these examinations and therefore it was difficult to complete this aspect of the intake process. Ratings with regard to medical status were made by physicians who were well acquainted with the TRY population and with the range of medical problems in the community.

b. Dental Evaluations: Ratings on dental problems were made during the medical evaluations by the physicians and included only those problems which were visible to the examiner. X-rays were not taken and therefore it can be assumed that the true incidence of dental problems is much higher than that reported.

c. Attendance Percentage: Attendance data was gathered daily from two sources; the Life-Skills educator and vocational instructors. Comparisons between the morning and afternoon attendance data give some verification of figures presented. Attendance data has been further hardened by having instructors report three types of attendance (actual attendance, excused absence and unexcused absence). The percentage of attendance reported here is based on the ratio of actual attendance to total days in the project thus avoiding the situation in which an instructor might mark a trainee present when he should have been given an excused absence. The attendance percentage therefore represents real time in the educational process.

d. Specific Vocational Training Program: Source of data is Vocational Training Assignment Records corroborated by attendance records.

e. Vocational Training Ratings: This data is identical with that reported in category 1. (a) above.

f. Direction of Vocational Training Rating: This data is identical with information listed in category 1. (a) above. It represents an effort to classify trends in the efforts made by trainees in the vocational training program.

g. Trainee Start And Stop Dates: Data comes from MDTA and attendance records of TRY. It is grouped on a monthly basis.

h. Months In TRY: Data comes from MDTA Termination of Training forms and gives total months between date of intake and date of termination from the project. In general, short-term dropouts and poor attendance dropouts are terminated one month later than the actual month in which they stopped attending. Graduates are terminated in the month during which they complete training.

i. TRY Status December 1967: This variable is included to show the standing of trainees immediately prior to the cut-off of demonstration and research funds. Data comes from the MDTA form for termination of training or from attendance data records within the project.

6. Outcome Information On Trainees

a. Trainee Project Status June 1968: Data comes from MDTA termination forms and from attendance records within the project. Categories on this variable are identical to those used in December, 1967 Status Report in 5 (j) above.

b. First Post-Training Activity Of Graduates: Data comes from placement records, New York State Employment Service, College Admission office reports and Letter of Induction regarding military service.

c. Placement And Starting Salary Data: Information comes from placement department records, and is corroborated by a follow up study.

d. Follow Up Data On Placement: Verification of placement and salary data comes from a special study made by the Youth Services Division during July and August 1968. Earlier information was verified on all but three trainees and new information was gained on 18 additional trainees.

e. Second, Third And Fourth Placement: Data was collected by the Placement Department on those trainees who required additional assistance after leaving or being fired from their first position.

f. High School Equivalency Diploma At TRY: Data comes from New York State, High School Equivalency Center.

7. Instructional Staff Background Information - All data comes from TRY Employment Records

a. Age At Employment
b. Sex
c. Marital Status
d. Birthplace
e. Place of High School Education
f. Years of Post High School Education
g. Type of Post High School Education
h. Type of College
i. College Major
j. Year of College Graduation
k. Years of Graduate Education
l. Type of Graduate Program
m. First Job Prior To TRY (Field, Level and Years On Job)
n. Second Job Prior To TRY (Field, Level and Years On Job)
o. Third Job Prior To TRY (Field, Level and Years On Job)

8. Instructional Staff Employment Information At TRY

   a. Job Level Assignment
   b. Specific Trainee Group Assignment
   c. Five Month Evaluation For Permanent Status
   d. Promotion Record At TRY

9. Instructional Staff Ratings

   a. Life-Skills Educator Ratings
   b. Vocational Instructor Ratings

10. Program Variables

   a. Life-Skills Trainee Group Assignment
   b. Life-Skills Trainee Group Consistency
   c. Life-Skills Group Attendance
   d. Vocational Training Course Adjustment
   e. Program Outcomes By Life-Skills Group and Vocational Training Areas

The eighty-eight variables listed above are those upon which data was collected. While the information is extensive, major gaps exist. Had the research phase of the project been continued for the full term proposed it would have been possible to include the following important information on the first cycle program.

1. Chronological summary of Life-Skills Group Educational Programs.
2. Rate of Progress Reports in Vocational Training Courses.
3. Outcome data on Remedial Reading and Math Skills Laboratory Programs.
4. Exit Test data on Trainees.
5. Exit Questionnaire Data on Trainees
6. Test data on Instructional Staff.

Again, if the research phase had been continued for three to five years as originally proposed it would have been possible to add to the above information the following data on the second cycle program.

1. Analysis of counseling data.
2. Expanded testing and background data on trainees.
3. Analysis of Life-Skills Education program data.
4. Comparison data on Experience-Centered and Content-Centered Curriculum approaches and development processes.

5. Comparison data on approaches used in basic skills development programs.
6. Summary data on the work experience program.
7. Twelve month followup information on first cycle trainees.
8. Followup study on TRY dropouts.
9. Special Study of Youth Advisor Training Program.

The basic point in listing these additional variables is to show the scope of information necessary to achieve the admittedly ambitious goals of this research-demonstration effort, and to trace out what research in education must undertake if truly comprehensive theories are to be evolved and tested. To use a medical analogue, diagnostic instruments and monitoring methods have to be developed to measure theorized action processes which produce pathology or health. The variables stated above represent to us, a beginning list of those needed in the field of education.

Tabulation And Analysis Of Data

The data on the above listed variables was obtained from the sources indicated. Background information on the trainees was taken from the intake questionnaire and coded on to 7 IBM cards for later analysis. Attendance data on trainees was coded for computer analysis on a monthly basis beginning with September, 1967. Monthly printouts summarizing the previous months attendance plus a total history of attendance on each trainee were available to the project. Test data on the trainees was summarized on a test profile sheet and translated to computer cards from the profile sheets. Program data about the trainee was collected from all sources listed above, summarized and coded for computerization by Assistants to the Principal Investigators. Background data on the staff was summarized by the Personnel Department at TRY and coded for computerization by Assistants to the Principal Investigators. The instructional staff ratings were collected and organized by the Principal Investigators and then coded for data processing. Program variables were obtained by coding the trainee data cards and the instructor cards so that special groupings could be obtained.

Considerable difficulty was experienced in attempting to condense the background data on trainees from the very detailed 7 card system designed by the first data processing firm employed by the project. After several runs, which showed considerable missing data or misplaced data, a new card was made which conformed all the data available on the variables listed above. Test data, program data and program outcome data were all checked and verified by the data processing center. Staff data was coded on a separate card. In total, 4 IBM cards were made for each of the 550 trainees who were actually involved in the program.

Sixty variables related to the trainee were selected for analysis, and in addition, test data was condensed so that the analysis could be more effectively summarized. Computer printouts on trainee variables consisted of the following types:

1. Frequency distributions on each variable with class intervals defined by the most appropriate and reasonable limits that we could designate for the variable.

2. Cross tabulations on approximately 174 important inter-relationships of variables.

3. A table of means and deviations on 47 selected trainee variables.

4. A correlation matrix on the 47 trainee variables.

5. Frequency distributions on selected instructional staff background variables.

This study involves a rather simple statistical analysis and does not extend beyond measures of central tendency, percentage distributions, and two variable correlations. A "t" test of significance using a 5% critical region was run on the 47 variables in the correlation matrix. The number of trainees in each correlation was also available as part of the computer printout.

The data will be organized and presented in the simplest form possible and in keeping with the outline of problems presented in the first section of this chapter. A summary of findings, conclusions, and implications will be presented in Chapter Five.

Limitations Of This Study

A number of limitations on this study have been alluded to in previous sections. While there will be some duplication here, we have attempted to organize the limitations of the study so that the relative importance of each point will stand out in the total perspective.

There are significant limitations on program data for this study. The most important of these in terms of the research design are the absence of exit testing and interview data on trainees, and of analyzable data on Life-Skills group activity. Both of these elements were crucial to the change research model of the design even in the first phase which called for a wide range of pre and post-training measures of skills, abilities, attitudes and knowledge. As a result, the best that can be provided by this study is a series of hypotheses about the relationship between the intake data which is available and the limited outcome and placement data which was gathered. In addition to these major gaps in the data, we were not able to institute our program data feedback system during the demonstration and research phase so as to have a system of program accountability. Because of the extremely limited nature of the program data we were unable to draw comparisons between the few attempts at a experienced-centered Life-Skills curriculum programs in contrast with the more content-centered programs. Even if such data had been collected it would have been of doubtful value because of the lack of consistency in Life-Skill group membership or leadership. Very few groups completed the training program with a majority of the trainees who started the group attending that group continuously and with the same Life-Skill Educator providing leadership throughout the cycle. While there were good reasons for the consolidations that took place and for the transfer of staff, this lack of consistency would have been a major impediment in any attempt to compare educational approaches within the project.

A second major limitation on this study is the relative short term nature of the follow up data. Only one follow up on the graduates placed by the project was possible. It occurred seven months after the first graduates were placed and at a time when all graduates had been out of the program an average of only four months. An 8 month and a 12 month follow up study would have provided more significant data and a sound basis for comparison with other programs and projects. With regard to graduates not placed by the project, only one attempt was made to reach them and find out what they were doing. Only about 25% of this group responded to the inquiry and so conclusions will have to be very guarded in this area. No systematic effort was made to follow up on dropouts from the program. This total lack of information with regard to confirming the reason for dropping out and what happened to the trainee during the ensuing year limits the possibilities of estimating the efficacy of the training program. We have attempted to deal with this limitation by describing all dropouts as failures on the part of the program to achieve desired results.

In other words, we are taking the hardest position possible on dropouts.

The general inadequacy of psychological tests for the disadvantaged is another important limitation on this study. The best available tests were developed for and normed on white middle class youth who were succeeding in the public education program. Limitations imposed by quite a different cultural setting, by handicaps in basic skills, by attitudes generated by peer groups, failure in the educational system and many other factors require that all test results be viewed with extreme caution.

A fourth limitation on this study is the choice that was made in organizing the data. Basically we had a choice between narrowing down the number of cases in the sample to those on which we had complete data, or, using all the data we had available, recognizing the number of respondents to each variable might be different. In the cases where the number of respondents was small, the sample on one variable might differ extensively from the sample on another. We chose the second course of action primarily because this is an exploratory study and we believe that the more data available, the better chance we have for estimating the relative importance of the variables and for developing new hypotheses for later testing. It should be pointed out that the first type of study still may be done by selecting out the information on those trainees where the data is complete.

Another limitation on this study is that important data about staff was not possible to obtain. We had originally hoped to collect the same range of information on instructional staff as we have on trainees. This would mean that test data with regard to aptitudes, interests and personality, ratings by supervisors and interview data would have been collected and organized. Since all that we were able to collect was demographic background information and since this represents only a small portion of the total data we envisaged as being essential to the broader factor analytic study of relationships between trainees, staff and program variables, we have decided to limit this report to a descriptive and comparative study of trainees. We shall, however, attempt to show how the broad range factor analytic study might be implemented.

While the limitations on this study have been stated it is important to note that even with the limitations this project has more data on trainees than any other project we have found which has reported its results.

Therefore the descriptive and comparative studies that are presented here should be of value to other projects, and programs dealing with the same population in terms of providing bench marks for comparison purposes and data for raising new questions for research.

B. THE TRY TRAINEE POPULATION

Sample Guidelines Compared With Actual Trainee Intake Data

The objective of the TRY trainee selection process was to see that the sample admitted to the project was as representative as possible of the population of out-of-school and out-of-work male youth ages 17-21 residing in the Bedford-Stuyvesant area of Brooklyn. Certain limitations on this objective were set by the nature of the program and by the needs of the community. This necessitated exclusion from the project of drug addicts, alcoholics, brain damaged, the severely physically handicapped, and those with reading skills below the second grade level or non-English-speaking.

The guidelines set forth in the research design are a combination of estimates arrived at from analyzing data from early programs with dropouts and estimates of the size of research cells necessary to draw statistical inferences from the data. The basic variables considered in selecting trainees, the proposed percentage guideline for each category and the actual percentage are as follows:

TABLE 4-1: TRAINEE SAMPLE SELECTION GUIDELINES AND ACTUAL RESULTS

Variable	Proposed Sample Percent	Actual Percent
1. Age		
17 years	20%	28%
18 years	20%	30%
19 years	20%	21%
20 years	20%	14%
21 years	20%	7%
	100%	100%
2. Education		
H.S. Dropouts	more than 80%	96%
H.S. Graduates	less than 20%	4% *
	100%	100%

*A less direct question (Reason for leaving school) shows that 8% of the population reported they had completed school. The difference might be attributed to failure to pass the last term of school, but feeling one has "completed" twelve years of school.

Variable	Proposed Sample Percent	Actual Percent
3. Ethnic Background		
Negro	70%	75%
Puerto Rican	15%	21%
Caucasian	15%	4%
	100%	100%
4. Reading Level		
Level 2 or below	3%	4%
3	5%	11 %
4	12%	20%
5	15%	17%
6	25%	12%
7	15%	11%
8	10%	8%
9	10%	5%
10 or above	5%	12%
	100%	100%
5. Probation-Parole (Current)		
Yes	less than 25%	19%
No	more than 75%	81%
	100%	100%

It will be noted that the age distribution is heavy in the younger range and light in the older range. This is partly a function of the response to the recruitment effort and partly a function of the times in which older youth, either are in the armed services or find employment easier to obtain. The education distribution shows that the high school dropout population has been extensively tapped. The ethnic distribution is close to the desired ratio except for the Caucasians,who either were not attracted to the project or dropped out before their MDTA forms were processed. The reading distribution had greater spread or variation than was originally proposed but there can be no question that the intent of the guideline was fully achieved. Finally, the proportion of youth under the direct authority of a law enforcement agency was well with the limits established.

General Background Information On Trainees

Background information on trainees will be presented in the following order: Birthplace, Ethnic Background, Type High School Course, Last Grade Completed, Last Year Of Schooling, Reason for Leaving School, Marital Status, Number of Dependents, Primary Language Spoken in the Home, Draft Status, Probation or Parole Status, Previous Project Experience, Employment Status at Entry, Age at Entry and Address at Entry. Where appropriate and available, comparable data from other programs will be provided.

1. Birthplace

TABLE 4-2: BIRTHPLACE BY STATE

Alabama	4	New York	283
California	1	North Carolina	30
District of Columbia	4	Puerto Rico	70
Florida	2	South Carolina	37
Georgia	9	Texas	1
Maryland	3	Virginia	9
Massachusetts	2	Virgin Islands	2
New Jersey	3	Wisconsin	2

Sixteen states are represented here but only four provide more than 5% of the total population each: New York, North Carolina, South Carolina and Puerto Rico. Viewed on a regional basis, an even more interesting picture emerges.

TABLE 4-3: BIRTHPLACE BY REGION

Deep South	91	20%
New York	283	61%
Puerto Rico	70	15%
All Other	18	4%
	462	100%

This same regional distribution is closely approximated in the second group of TRY trainees that entered the program during the spring of 1968. It is interesting to note that while the Northeast showed a total migration loss of 100,000 from 1950 to 1960, that sometime during that period 40% of the families of TRY trainees moved into the Northeast from other regions, (U.S. Department of Labor, 1968).

Further evidence of the representative nature of the TRY sample comes from the "Study of the Meaning, Experience, and Effects of the Neighborhood Youth Corps on Negro Youth who are Seeking Work", Part I (New York University Center for the Study of Unemployed Youth, 1967) which shows that a higher proportion of Bedford-Stuyvesant youth than Harlem youth were born outside New York City, in rural areas, particularly in the South.

The fact that Bedford-Stuyvesant is and may well continue to be a center of in-migration has many implications for education, welfare, and community organization which will be discussed in Chapter Five.

2. Ethnic Background

Comparison data is provided here with Job Corps Centers, Neighborhood Youth Corps and Institutional and On-the-Job Training Programs under MDTA, all on a national basis: (U.S. Department of Labor, 1968).

TABLE 4-4: ETHNIC BACKGROUND

Ethnic Background	TRY	Job Corps	N. Y. Corps	MDTA
Negro	75%	54%	49%	33%
Caucasion	4%	36%	47%	65%
Puerto Rican and other	21%	10%	4%	2%

3. Type of High School Course

The New York City school system provides four major types of high school programs for the youth of the city. They are: 1) Academic, or college preparatory 2) Commercial, or basic secretarial and bookkeeping programs, 3) Vocational and 4) General, a catch-all category for youth not included in the other more specific courses.

TABLE 4-5: TYPE OF HIGH SCHOOL COURSE

Course	Number	Percent
Academic	134	26%
Commercial	53	10%
Vocational	99	20%
General	226	44%
	512	100%

4. Last School Grade Completed

The law in the State of New York requires that a youth attend school until he is at least 16 years of age. Comparison data is provided (U.S. Department of Labor, 1968).

TABLE 4-6: LAST SCHOOL GRADE COMPLETED

Grade	TRY Number	TRY Percent	Job Corps	N. Y. Corps	MDTA
6th	6	1%	3%	1%	7%
7th	7	1%	7%	2%	
8th	24	5%	13%	8%	10%
9th	92	17%	23%	20%	12%
10th	174	33%	23%	35%	12%
11th	206	39%	13%	33%	12%
12th	19	4%	17%	2%	47%
	528	100%	100%	100%	100%

5. Last Year Of Schooling

The amount of time a youth is out of school before he commences training may be a significant factor in predicting training outcomes.

TABLE 4-7: LAST YEAR OF SCHOOLING

Year	Years Out of School Before TRY Entry	Number	Percent
1960 or before	7	2	1%
1961	6	5	1%
1962	5	15	4%
1963	4	42	10%
1964	3	49	12%
1965	2	77	20%
1966	1	137	35%
1967	0.5	70	17%
		397	100%

It should be noted that nearly half of the TRY population has been out of school two years or more prior to entry into the project.

6. Reason For Leaving School

While the categories used to describe this variable are not mutually exclusive, they do present the trainee's major reason for dropping out of school. Several significant relationships will be pointed up later.

TABLE 4-8: REASON FOR LEAVING SCHOOL

Reason	Number	Percent
Completed	37	7%
Hardship	78	15%
Truancy	27	5%
Court Problems	11	2%
Behavior	35	7%
Dropped Out at 16	160	32%
Academic Difficulty	15	3%
Expelled	34	7%
Moved	7	1 %
Other	110	21 %
	514	100%

7. Marital Status

Information reported by TRY trainees is compared with data from other relevant programs which reported on this category (U.S. Department of Labor, 1968):

TABLE 4-9: MARITAL STATUS

Status	TRY Number	TRY Percent	N.Y. Corps Percent
Single	456	87%	99.3%
Married	64	12%	.5%
Divorced	3	1%	.2%
Separated	1	--	
	524	100%	100.0%

8. Dependents

Data reported here represents the number of dependents for whom TRY trainees accept responsibility. The recognition and acceptance of this responsibility is noteworthy.

TABLE 4-10: NUMBER OF DEPENDENTS

Number of Dependents	TRY Number	TRY Dependents	TRY Percent
0	377	0	75%
1	46	46	9%
2	42	84	8%
3	25	75	5%
4	8	32	2%
5 or more	5	31	1%
	503	268	100%

9. Primary Language Spoken By Trainee

The effects of bilinguality have been studied by a number of researchers (Brown 1958, Katz, 1958, Darcy, 1963). While the primary language spoken by TRY trainees is English, it is important to note the significant number of cases in which Spanish is the second language.

TABLE 4-11: PRIMARY LANGUAGES OF TRAINEE

Language	Primary Number	Percent	Secondary Number	Percent
English	509	96%	--	--
Spanish	17	4%	90	17%
French	--	--	4	1 %
	526	100%	94	18%

10. Military Draft Status

Draft classification information was available on 260 trainees. An additional 150 were seventeen years of age or younger and so no data is available on them. Comparison data is presented, (U.S. Department of Labor, 1968).

TABLE 4-12: DRAFT STATUS

Classification		TRY Number	TRY Percent	N.Y. Corps Percent
Available	-1A	138	53%	40%
Student	-1S	17	7%	--
War Only	-1Y	41	16%	32%
Family	-3A	11	4%	7%
Unfit	-4F	53	20%	21 %
		260	100%	100%

11. Probation Or Parole

Data on this variable was corroborated by conferences with probation and parole authorities.

TABLE 4-13: PROBATION-PAROLE STATUS

Status	Number	Percent
Yes	97	19%
No	411	81%
	508	100%

12. Age At Entry

Comparison figures for other relevant programs are presented along with TRY data, (U. S. Department of Labor, 1968).

TABLE 4-14: AGE AT ENTRY

Age	TRY Number	TRY Percent	Job Corps Percent	N. Y. Corps Percent	MDTA
16	3	0.5%	11%	21%	15%
17	147	28.0%	21%	25%	
18	155	30.0%	24%	23%	
19	109	21.0%	18%	16%	23%
20	72	14.0%	12%	10%	
21	35	6.5%	11%	5%	
older	--	--	3%	--	62%
	521	100.0%	100%	100%	100%

13. Address At Entry

TRY had originally planned to collect addresses by ZIP Code regions. So few codes were given that data had to be organized on the next larger classification: Boroughs of the City of New York.

As can be seen from the data the vast majority of the trainees come from Brooklyn. It should also be noted that while the number of young men who came from quite distant areas of the city to attend the program was modest, their continued attendance shows that distance was not a serious problem in preventing program involvement.

TABLE 4-15: ADDRESS AT ENTRY

Borough	Number	Percent
Brooklyn	513	97.0%
Manhattan	6	1.2%
Bronx	6	1.2%
Queens	3	.6%
Richmond	0	0.0%
	528	100.0%

14. Previous Project Experience

From experience with the pilot programs that preceded TRY, the Principal Investigators were aware that a number of youth move from one project to another. TRY did not seek to either encourage or discourage youth with other project experience from joining the program, however, information was gathered on such experience.

TABLE 4-16: PREVIOUS PROJECT EXPERIENCE

Project	Number	Percent
Join	37	7%
Job Corps	31	6%
YOC	9	2%
N. Y. Corps	23	4%
Youth In Action	17	3%
Other	19	3%
None Reported	386	75%
	522	100%

15. Employment At Entry

As noted in the Introduction to this chapter, data on this variable may be somewhat spurious, but in the absence of any clearcut contradictory data the report of trainees is presented. Comparison data is also presented, (U.S. Dept. of Labor, 1968).

TABLE 4-17: EMPLOYMENT AT ENTRY

Status	TRY Number	TRY Percent	Job Corps	MDTA
Unemployed	411	85%	21%	85%
Employed Full Time	60	12%	65%	11%
Employed Part Time	11	3%	--	--
Other	--	--	14%	4%
	482	100%	100%	100%

16. Source Of Referral To Try

Trainees were asked how they heard about TRY and what was the single most important factor in suggesting that they apply. Results are as follows:

TABLE 4-18: SOURCE OF REFERRAL

Source	Number	Percent
Social Agencies	260	50%
Self	117	22%
Friend	91	17%
Advertising	11	2%
Outreach	34	7%
Other	9	2%
	522	100%

C. PSYCHOLOGICAL TEST DATA ON THE TRAINEES

Introduction

In considering the use of psychological tests in the demonstration-research program involving disadvantaged youth a wide range of factors have to be weighed. Primary questions are: 1) Are there several valid reasons for doing testing which will be meaningful both to the trainee and to the project?, 2) Do tests exist which can give useful information with regard to relevant questions in the project which cannot be gained from other sources?, 3) Can the testing process be controlled in such a way that the rights of privacy of the individual are protected and the proper use of testing instruments is assured?, 4) Is there reasonable assurance that the test data will be handled in a thoroughly professional manner and will be interpreted properly?

The basic reason for including a testing program in the TRY project was to build a bridge, however limited it might be, between what is known about learning and human development processes in general and the specific problems of disadvantaged youth, in particular. Psychological test results, looked at as a whole, provide broad guidelines on a number of factors which otherwise could not be tapped nearly as well by any other means.

The layman generally reacts negatively to testing programs because his experience has been one in which tests were used to screen out individuals from socially or personally desirable opportunities. The layman often fails to realize that tests can be used for quite a different purpose which is to diagnose those areas in which a program should concentrate in order to maximize the use of the resources of the program to help an individual attain those desired opportunities.

The research division of the project had to constantly work to interpret the process which would be necessary before tests could be validly used in individual counseling situations in the program. The process included a preliminary analysis of the total data (such as is represented by this report), staff training in the use of test information in relationship with counseling, and the development of techniques to make the interpretation of test results meaningful to the trainees.

The testing program was deemed to be relevant to the trainees for several reasons even in this preliminary phase. First of all, most of the trainees needed to develop sophistication for taking tests because they would face testing programs in almost any field they would enter. We tried to design an introduction of the testing program with primary emphasis on learning how to take tests, what to look for in a test, and how to be efficient in completing a test. Secondly, the testing program was relevant to the needs of the trainee in a less direct way by helping to clarify where emphasis ought to be laid in certain aspects of the program, i.e. the reading lab, math lab, basic skills development program, and High School Equivalency Program. Individual feedback on test data was projected to occur toward the end of the program so that the trainees could see the changes in their skills and interests and thus do a better job of planning their careers and understanding themselves.

The selection of a test battery was a difficult and time-consuming process. It involved research into the validity, reliability, reading level, cultural set and available norms on a large number of instruments. Experts on the problems of testing the disadvantaged were consulted in both the South and in New York City. As was pointed out in Section A, the battery which was finally selected appeared to us to meet as many as possible of the criteria outlined. The battery was composed of The Metropolitan Achievement Test, Intermediate Series; The Gates-McGinitie Reading Test; the Revised Beta Examination (a non-language form of the Army Intelligence test series); The Bennett Mechanical Comprehension Test, Form AA; The Minnesota Vocational Interest Inventory; The Weingarten Picture Interest Inventory; and The California Test Of Personality.

The TRY research staff paid particular attention to the questions of reliability, validity and the appropriate use of tests with disadvantaged youth. More research has been done in this area than is generally realized. The reader is particularly directed to the following work: Anastasia, 1958, 1964, 1966, 1968; Campbell, 1966; Cleary, 1966; Darcy, 1963; Deutsch, 1968; Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, 1966; Gordon, 1966; Jurginson, 1966; Kirkpatrick, 1967; Lopez, 1966; Patterson, 1956; Schwartz, 1964; Stanley, 1967; Wallace, 1966.

One of the best summaries on tests with the culturally disadvantaged is to be found in Anastasia 1968, pp. 558-564. Anastasia points out that testing the disadvantaged is highly relevant when it occurs in conjunction with efforts to improve the individual's skills and long-range opportunities, and when consideration for cultural handicaps is given. She states that it is quite important to develop norms for subgroups in the total population so that the value of tests may be checked within specific subgroups. However, she goes on to note that the predicative characteristic of test scores will be generally better and will vary less among subgroups if the test is intrinsically relevant to some criterion of performance. She further points out that it is not unusual for a test to under-predict the performance of a well educated youth and to over-predict the performance of students from lower sociometric levels. Anastasia suggests that the inclusion of an index of cultural disadvantage as a moderator variable in regression equations will improve test validities in some cases. In general, her position is that when the most appropriate tests are selected, testing provides a safeguard against favoritism and arbitrary or capricious decisions against the culturally disadvantaged. Tests also provide a quantitative index of the extent of culturally handicap as a guide in setting up remedial programs.

At TRY, test results were not used on an individual basis except for some placement considerations in those vocational training programs where higher level reading and math skills were essential. The testing process was supervised throughout by trained personnel from the research division, but there were instances in which instructional staff and subprofessional workers interrupted the testing procedure and gave some comments as to their objections to testing in the project. Most of the test scoring was done on a contract basis by machine scoring methods. The security of test results was the responsibility of the Assistant Director in the research area and to the best of our knowledge a high degree of confidentiality was maintained.

The interpretation of test results requires a rather sophisticated knowledge of what the tests are functionally designed to measure, what groups the results are most relevant for, the group being examined, the conditions under which the tests were taken, and an opportunity to analyze the results in light of a number of interrelated outcome variables. While most of these criteria are met for the analysis of the data in this report, the sheer volume of data and the large number of variables to be considered preclude an in-depth analysis at this point. Our goal will be to present the major findings and most significant interpretations which we have generated at this point.

The basic psychological test data will be presented in the remainder of this section under the headings; General educational achievement and Basic learning skills factors, Measured interest factors, and Personality factors. The interrelationship of test data with other factors will be discussed in Section F of this chapter.

General Educational Achievement And Basic Learning Skills Factors

The primary instruments used to measure general educational achievement and basic learning skills were: the Metropolitan Achievement Test, Intermediate Series; the Gates-McGinitie Reading Test; and the Revised Beta Examination.

The Metropolitan Achievement Tests (MAT), Intermediate Series, focus on essential skills basic to general education: word knowledge, spelling, language usage, language studies skills, mathematic computational skills, arithmetic problems and solving concepts skills. The tests are normed on a controlled sample of more than 90,000 students ranging in grade level from second grade through tenth grade and in age from 8 years to 17 years. The norms purport to describe the achievement of pupils representative of the nation's public school population. The norm group attempts to match the national school population with regard to size of school, geographic location, type of community, intelligence level of pupils and type of system (segregated or non-segregated). Systems having segregated Negro schools were included in the norm group with their representation in terms of numbers of pupils weighed in proportion of pupils in such systems in the national population. Reliability co-efficients in the subtests used by TRY are as follows: word knowledge .94, reading .90, spelling .92, language .89, language studies skills .79, arithmetic computation .88, arithmetic problem solving and concepts .92.

A review of the data on TRY trainees shows the average achievement to cluster around the sixth grade level. The standard deviation, or average spread of scores from the mean grade level of achievement varies from 1.3 grades to 2.55 grades. Thus, 60% or more of the TRY trainees fall in the range from 4.0 grade level to 7.9 grade level in all the skill areas measured

Data from the Metropolitan tests are presented in Table 4-19. The average achievement on each test is at approximately the beginning of the sixth grade level. Only the Language Usage score is significantly lower (one grade level). It is interesting to note that the least variation in results occurs in arithmetic computational skills while the greatest variation is in the reading comprehension results. This suggests that a much more differentiated basic skills improvement program is needed in reading than in mathematics. Reading skills improvement will be one of the special topics dealt with in Section H of this chapter.

TABLE 4-19: EDUCATIONAL SKILLS ACHIEVEMENT GRADE LEVEL AT ENTRY METROPOLITAN ACHIEVEMENT TEST: INTERMEDIATE SERIES

Educational Achievement Test	Percent In Each Grade									Sample Number	Grade Mean	Standard Deviation
Grade:	1-2.9	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10			
Word Knowledge	8	8	12	16	14	17	2	6	17	476	6.47	2.39
Reading Comprehension	4	11	20	17	12	11	8	5	12	480	6.29	2.55
Spelling	4	8	13	14	22	13	8	7	10	472	6.43	2.19
Language Usage	1	25	22	22	15	8	4	1	1	447	5.11	1.67
Language Skills	2	12	21	25	12	7	8	4	9	400	5.90	2.08
Arithmetic Computation	0	3	21	33	23	13	2	2	2	481	5.92	1.32
Arithmetic Problem Solving	1	5	17	24	21	22	5	1	4	478	6.0	n.c.

General Learning Ability

General learning ability was estimated from the Revised Beta Examination, an instrument modified from the original Army Beta Test which was used to classify young men who had little or no reading ability. The results, therefore, are relatively free from bias due to formal education.

Results should be viewed as a broad gauged measure of general learning ability at the time of entry into Project TRY. While results are in the form of an Intelligence Quotient, consideration should not be given to individual scores but rather to the groups of scores that are presented in Table 4-20.

TABLE 4-20: GENERAL LEARNING ABILITY

Revised Beta I.Q.	Number	Percent
less than 70	9	2%
70-79	34	9%
80-89	86	23%
90-99	99	26%
100-109	104	27%
110-119	41	11%
120-and above	8	2%
	381	100%

The most striking finding in this data is that more than 12% of this high school dropout population has the basic capacity to handle college work, and that more than 40% of the total group score above the average of the general population. Perhaps even more important is the fact that fully two-thirds of this dropout population fall in the normal, above normal or high classifications of learning ability. This is a powerful verification of the position taken by a number of professional persons, but generally not accepted by the average layman, that there is as much diversity of talent and ability among disadvantaged youth who have dropped out of school as there is in the total population. An important corollary is that training programs for this group must provide a diversity of educational opportunities equal to the diversity in the population it seeks to serve if they are to be relevant.

Special attention should be given to the lowest third in general learning ability. Undoubtedly there are a number in this group who have considerably more capacity than indicated by this particular measure of ability. A cross tabulation with the achievement measures reported above shows that approximately one out of five may be inaccurately classified in this lower range because their reading and math skills generally are at the 6th grade level or above. However, for a significant number of dropouts, perhaps as many as 20% of the TRY population, there is extensive need for the development of special training programs in basic skills and in vocational education to meet their needs.

Mechanical Comprehension

The Bennett Mechanical Comprehension Test, Form AA, was used to gain a preliminary index of aptitude for mechanical type work activities. Individual scores were not used for selection or placement purposes. Our plan was to see how useful this measure would be in predicting which trainees would do best in our mechanical type training programs. Those relationships will be discussed in Section H.

It is interesting to note that there is a significantly higher correlation between the results of the Revised Beta Examination and The Bennett Mechanical Comprehension test for TRY trainees (.39), than is reported for industrial employees in a paper company (.24) in the test manual.

The data presented here regarding TRY trainees is compared with two norm groups from the test manual. It is unfortunate that a retest after training was not possible for TRY trainees to see what impact the training program had on these results.

TABLE 4-21: MECHANICAL COMPREHENSION

Range of Scores	TRY Trainees	12th Grade Males	Industrial Workers
51-60		10%	5%
45-50	1%	15%	10%
39-44	4%	25%	20%
33-38	10%	15%	20%
27-32	15%	15%	15%
21-26	25%	15%	10%
20 or less	45%	5%	20%
	100%	100%	100%

Measured Interests

Considerable research has been done regarding the patterns of interests of various occupational groups. This research shows that the interest patterns of most persons are reasonably well established by age 21 and that reasonable approximations of these patterns may be derived from age 18 on. We found few corresponding studies of measured interests of disadvantaged youth from predominately Negro communities, and, therefore, this particular section must fall into the category of speculative exploration.

Two instruments were used to inventory the interests of TRY trainees. The Minnesota Vocational Interest Inventory is a forced-choice type of interest inventory oriented toward the type of vocational training provided in the TRY program. This instrument provides 21 scales for individual counseling purposes for such occupations as auto mechanic, radio TV repair man, baker, etc. For the purposes of the TRY program we selected nine areas scales showing the trainees liking for work activity in common with a number of occupational groups such as mechanical, electrical, office work, food service, outdoor work, etc. Norms for this test are based on persons actually employed in the occupational fields. The second instrument used was the Weingarten Picture Interest Inventory. A particular asset of this instrument is the use of illustrations of activities having occupational significance. There is no dependence upon a person understanding words or occupational terms in order to respond to it. This instrument also is a forced-choice test and, therefore, results are interpreted in relative terms of "higher than" or "lower than" average interest in a particular field. This instrument was normed on 1,000 junior high school, high school and college males from a variety of states represented of the national population. Table 4-22 shows the similarities of the tests.

The extensive research in the area of measured interests shows that interest inventories are generally useful for distinguishing between higher level occupations, but that differentiation among occupations on the lower levels is not nearly so clear. This may be due to the fact that in higher occupational levels job satisfaction is derived primarily from liking the work itself while other factors such as salary, security, and social contacts may be more important at the lower levels.

The material presented in Tables 4-23 and 4-24 show what proportion of the TRY trainees sample stood in the high, medium, or low range on the interest areas scales of these two instruments. The first four areas are quite similar for each instrument. The last two areas for each instrument should not be equated with one another, although there are some partial relationships between these factors.

TABLE 4-22: COMPARISON OF INTEREST INVENTORIES

Minnesota Vocational Interest Inventory: N=317		Weingarten Picture Interest Inventory: N=323	
Mechanical Work Interest		**Mechanical Work Interest**	
Low	60%	Low	19%
Medium	33%	Medium	32%
High	7%	High	49%
	100%		100%
Electrical Work Interest		**Scientific Work Interest**	
Low	28%	Low	28%
Medium	37%	Medium	41%
High	35%	High	31%
	100%		100%
Office Work Interest		**Business Work Interest**	
Low	6%	Low	4%
Medium	29%	Medium	35%
High	65%	High	61%
	100%		100%
Outdoor Work Interest		**Natural Work Interest**	
Low	58%	Low	69%
Medium	30%	Medium	27%
High	12%	High	4%
	100%		100%
Clean Hands Work Interest		**Esthetic Work Interest**	
Low	9%	Low	5%
Medium	30%	Medium	27%
High	61%	High	68%
	100%		100%
Food Service Interest		**Interpersonal Work Interest**	
Low	27%	Low	22%
Medium	47%	Medium	36%
High	26%	High	42%
	100%		100%

TABLE 4-23: MINNESOTA VOCATIONAL INTEREST INVENTORY COMPARED WITH TRADE TRAINING AREAS

	Auto Mechanic		Office Machine		Refrig/ Heat		Electric Appliance		Vend Machine		Food Service	
MVII SCALES	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Mechanical												
Low	39	39%	34	77%	25	57%	22	59%	20	63%	36	92%
Medium	48	49%	9	20%	17	39%	13	36%	8	25%	3	8%
High	12	12%	1	3%	2	4%	2	5%	4	12%	0	--%
	99	100%	44	100%	44	100%	37	100%	32	100%	39	100%
Food												
Low	27	28%	14	32%	13	30%	14	38%	9	28%	2	5%
Medium	52	53%	24	55%	24	55%	14	38%	15	47%	9	23%
High	19	19%	6	13%	7	15%	9	24%	8	25%	28	72%
	98	100%	44	100%	44	100%	37	100%	32	100%	39	100%
Electrical												
Low	14	15%	18	41%	12	27%	6	16%	12	37%	18	46%
Medium	42	42%	19	43%	19	43%	6	16%	12	37%	13	33%
High	43	43%	7	16%	13	30%	25	68%	8	25%	8	21%
	99	100%	44	100%	44	100%	37	100%	32	100%	39	100%
Office Work												
Low	10	10%	2	5%	3	7%	2	5%	2	6%	1	3%
Medium	36	36%	4	9%	10	23%	11	30%	11	34%	10	26%
High	53	54%	38	86%	30	70%	24	65%	19	60%	28	71%
	99	100%	44	100%	43	100%	37	100%	32	100%	39	100%
Clean Hands												
Low	12	12%	1	2%	3	7%	6	16%	3	9%	2	5%
Medium	32	32%	11	25%	15	35%	11	30%	9	28%	11	28%
High	55	56%	32	73%	25	58%	20	54%	20	63%	26	67%
	99	100%	44	100%	43	100%	37	100%	32	100%	39	100%

TABLE 4-24: PICTURE INTEREST INVENTORY VS. TRADE TRAINING AREAS

	Auto Mechanic		Office Machine		Refrig/ Heat		Electric Appliance		Vend Machine		Food Service	
PII SCALES	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Mechanical												
Low	11	10%	9	26%	7	16%	2	7%	4	13%	23	43%
Medium	34	32%	13	37%	16	37%	8	27%	7	23%	18	34%
High	61	58%	13	37%	20	47%	20	66%	20	64%	12	23%
	106	100%	35	100%	43	100%	30	100%	31	100%	53	100%
Business												
Low	3	3%	0	--%	2	5%	2	6%	3	10%	1	2%
Medium	48	45%	9	26%	20	47%	10	34%	7	23%	12	23%
High	55	52%	26	74%	21	48%	18	60%	21	67%	40	75%
	106	100%	35	100%	43	100%	30	100%	31	100%	53	100%
Interpersonal												
Low	29	28%	5	14%	12	27%	10	33%	6	19%	2	3%
Medium	34	33%	11	32%	22	50%	10	33%	16	52%	16	30%
High	41	39%	19	54%	10	23%	10	34%	9	29%	35	67%
	104	100%	35	100%	44	100%	30	100%	31	100%	53	100%

An overview of the interest inventory data suggests that at least four ideas should be considered. First, there is a high degree of correspondence on the first four areas of each instrument with the exception of the mechanical interests area. The significant difference here between the Minnesota Vocational Interest Inventory which shows less than 10% standing high on mechanical work and the Picture Interest Inventory which shows nearly half standing high on the mechanical work, may be due to quite different responses to words describing mechanical work as opposed to pictures of technicians working on machines which also represent mechanical work. This suggests that interest test data must be carefully checked before using it for counseling and program planning purposes.

The high consistency between the two interests measures suggest a second idea, namely, that vocational training programs for the disadvantaged should be expanded in the direction of providing training in office work and sales. This is demonstrated by the fact that nearly two-thirds of the trainees scored high in office work or business interests. While a number of sales office jobs are available in the fields for which the TRY project provided training, the very high esthetic interest level suggests that an additional training area might be started in department store sales which could cover clothing, furniture, etc.

A third suggestion growing out of this data is that special emphasis should be given to sales and office work jobs in the mechanical and technical trade areas where projects are already providing training. Salesmen who know the technical performance qualities of their equipment should be more effective than those who do not, provided all of the factors are equal.

The fourth rather obvious implication from the interest inventory data is that city youth have a strong dislike for outdoor and rural occupations. This strong dislike may be partly due to the lack of exposure, however, our interpretation of this overwhelming result is that the rural of the Job Corps Camps program with its emphasis of basic skills and outdoor work will have limited appeal to city youth and will show a decline in maintaining the interest of city youth over time. This would appear to be one more bit of evidence in support of the contention that training programs for disadvantaged youth should be located in their own neighborhoods or close enough to their neighborhoods so that the location of the center and the type of training offered serves as a bridge between the trainee and opportunities for full-time employment.

Given the fact that TRY trainees generally were able to choose the field of occupational training they wished to enter, one might ask the question, "Did the vocational training areas differ from one another in terms of inventory interests?" The preceding Tables 4-23 and 4-24 are set up to illustrate the results for this question, and as can be seen, significant differences do exist, particularly between the mechanical-technical occupations and food service. One might also assume that had retail sales been one of occupational training areas, that it too would have shown a fairly distinct interest pattern for the group of trainees chosing it. If it is assumed that interest in a vocational training field adds to the motivation to complete training and to succeed in that area, then this data would support both the concept of providing a variety of training areas and the concept of allowing free choice with regard to training field. The validity of this assumption will be discussed in the section of Outcome Data.

Estimates Of Personal And Social Adjustment

Attempts within the TRY project to gather data with regard to personality characteristics were minimal for several reasons. First of all, personality tests in general have lower reliability and validity than any other kinds of psychological tests. Second, there has been little investigation into the relationship between the factors that make for pathology or health in the personalities of individuals living in disadvantaged communities in relationship to the results of paper and pencil personality measures. Thirdly, from a programmatic point of view, our orientation was toward building on the healthy aspects of the individual rather than on trying to remove the pathology and since most tests are pathology oriented they would only serve to emphasize the negative. We, of course, were concerned with the careful interpretation of test results. Since personality test results are of the keenest interest to people, whether or not they have the proper training to interpret them, we felt it better not to have this data generally available.

On the other hand, we did want to develop some broad benchmarks with regard to mental health and felt that at least one measure of personal and social adjustment would be appropriate. The instrument selected was The California Test Personality which for our purposes was both the least offensive personality test and also the one normed on the population most similar to our trainees namely, students in grades 7 to 10 inclusive from five states. The following table shows the general results from giving this test.

TABLE 4-25: PERSONAL AND SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT

	Personal		Social		Total	
Adjustment Level	N	%	N	%	N	%
Low	111	30%	145	39%	112	30%
Medium	231	62%	209	56%	245	66%
High	29	8%	17	5%	14	4%
	371	100%	371	100%	371	100%

These results suggest that nearly one-third of the TRY trainees tested fall in the low range of personal and social adjustment. Since a positive self-concept is crucial to success in work and in life, the broad benchmarks suggested above give a preliminary notion of the complexity and size of the task which must be faced.

Lest anyone assume that by the term "adjustment" we mean conformity to the current social structure, let us be extremely clear. The task is to design and implement a "thought-action-consequences" educational experience which will build a real sense of competence and self worth. Adjustment is not a static state. It is the presence of adequate coping power and skills to deal with the range of life situations and responsibilities.

It will be most important to see if the graduates and those placed in jobs differ from program dropouts on these scales. If they do, then a followup study on graduates and dropouts should be carried out to see if personal and social adjustment improve as a result of training and placement.

D. DESCRIPTION OF PROGRAM DATA

Introduction

The amount and variety of program data which is in a form to be presented statistically, is limited. It is limited by the small number of regular measures which were planned for the first year start-up period, but most of all, it is limited by the cut-off of demonstration research funds. This forced an immediate end to all research work and a drastic cut of all research personnel and half of the Life-Skills Education staff thus stopping practically all data collection processes and removing half of the people who could give us significant anecdotal material. The cut-off of research funds also stopped the development of the program data feedback system which was just getting underway, and which could have produced significant data on the final stages of training during cycle one, and unusually complete data on cycle two trainees.

While the program data is limited, what is available is highly significant and thought provoking. The basic data available will be presented in the following order: Input and Output data; Medical and Dental Examination data; Vocational Training Data; Weekly Training Allowance Information; Attendance data; Status of all trainees in December, 1967 just prior to funding cutback; Status of all trainees at the end of May, 1968, as last trainees were finishing up training.

Program Input And Output Data

The most helpful overview of program data is a sense of the flow of training and the input and output of the training program. The reader is urged to review Section E of Chapter Three and particularly to see the Chart on Project Development on page 3-55 as background information. The flow of trainees is as follows:

TABLE 4-26: INPUT AND OUTPUT OF TRAINEES

INPUT	Actually Recruited	708	
	Actually Appeared First Day	625	
	Actually Enrolled By MDTA	544	
OUTPUT	Short Term Dropout (less than 20 days)		96
	Long Term Dropouts		133
	Other Incompletes		53
	Graduates		262
			544

The above information takes the hardest possible view of the data. Only those trainees who completed the full training program are listed as graduates. Some long term dropouts have spent as much time in training as some graduates, but because their full program was not completed, they are not listed as graduates. Also, the 98 trainees who dropped out shortly after the cutback in funds are considered dropouts although a rather strong argument can be made that the disruption in the program caused a good many of these trainees to leave.

The intake and exit of trainees over time also presents an interesting picture. The reader is reminded that the project moved to its permanent facility in July, 1967, that the first contract originally was scheduled to end October 1, 1967, and that trainees were informed in January, 1968, that half the Life-Skills Staff would have to be retrenched due to termination of research funding.

TABLE 4-27: INTAKE AND EXIT DATES OF TRAINEES

Month	Year	Enrolled Number	Exit Number
Dec	1966	17	1
Jan	1967	36	2
Feb		32	1
Mar		--	1
Apr		65	1
May		57	5
Jun		62	12
July		67	18
Aug		122	24
Sep		43	23
Oct		55	34
Nov		--	23
Dec		--	37
Jan	1968	--	63
Feb		--	80
Mar		--	83
Apr		--	59
May		--	12
Jun	1968	--	65
Total		544	544

The TRY design called for flexibility so that the more rapid learners might move through the program in as little as nine months, while the great majority would take about a year and the slower trainees, which constituted twenty to thirty percent of the trainees, might take up to eighteen months. Table 4-28 presents the distribution as to months in TRY by trainees.

TABLE 4-28: MONTHS IN TRY BY TRAINEES

Number of Months	Number of Trainees
2 or less	66
3 - 4	77
5 - 6	94
7 - 8	105
9 -10	95
11 -12	64
13 -14	36
15 -16	7
17 -18	0
	544

It should be noted that while the average time spent by trainees at TRY was about seven months, that the cut in funding and the consequent drastic reduction in staff caused many trainees to drop out and forced the project to graduate trainees as rapidly as possible. Many trainees desired to stay in training longer than the new conditions allowed.

Medical And Dental Evaluations

One of the fundamental goals of the TRY project was to help trainees learn how to deal with major life responsibilities. One of these responsibilities obviously is personal health and psychological well being. The plan was to set up a program which would help each trainee gain useful experiences in dealing with his own, or his family's, or his community's health problems and the resources available to deal with those problems. The first step was to set up medical and dental evaluations for trainees. The goal was to have the examinations completed during the two week orientation period, but only rarely was this accomplished due to the great reluctance of these youth to participate in a medical examination even though they were performed by Negro doctors in private offices. Not infrequently a young man would be scheduled three times before an examination actually was completed.

In order to present the medical and dental data systematically we asked the doctors to rate each trainee according to the following scale. It should be noted that the dental evaluation was done by the medical doctors and that no X-rays were taken. Therefore, only surface problems are reported.

Medical and Dental Evaluation Definitions:

Healthy:	No evidence of illness or pathology based on this examination.
Non-significant problem:	Some physical problem or abnormality which is either likely to pass quickly, or is not likely to effect the general health and well being of the person.
Significant problem:	A specific illness, chronic problem, or abnormality which is effecting the health of the person to a considerable extent.
Urgent problem:	A serious problem greatly effecting the health of the individual and calling for immediate attention.

TABLE 4-29: RESULTS OF MEDICAL EVALUATIONS

Evaluation	Number	Percent
Healthy	164	44%
Non-significant problem	67	18%
Significant problem	102	28%
Urgent problem	37	10%
	370	100%

TABLE 4-30: RESULTS OF DENTAL EVALUATIONS

Evaluation	Number	Percent
Healthy	163	44%
Non-significant problem	3	1%
Significant problem	197	53%
Urgent problem	7	2%
	370	100%

When medical and dental problems are combined only about 15% of the trainees were found to be free from any problem. The most frequent problems identified were dental cavities, respiratory infections, and problems with blood sugar level.

By contrast, one of the questions asked on the intake questionnaire was, "How would you rate your general health?" The response showed: 97% rated themselves good, 3% rated themselves fair and only 1% rated themselves poor. While the trend certainly is to be anticipated, the very small percent who registered as fair or poor does not begin to cover the number who must have been in considerable pain due to their illnesses. Fortunately, TRY was able to arrange for medical treatment for most of the trainees with significant or urgent medical problems.

Vocational Training Data

The vocational training data is largely descriptive. The evaluative material represents a first stage effort to develop a rating meaningful to the trainee which at the same time allowed for variation in speed of learning. The vocational training rating was done each week by the instructor. He was asked to give a global rating on each trainee in his group on a scale from 0 to 5 with 3 being an indication of acceptable performance for the field and a sign of continuing progress in the course. Conferences were held with trainees whose ratings were at the 1 or 2 level and instructors often gave these trainees extra time after class.

Three tables present the vocational training information. The first gives a breakdown of the numbers of trainees in each training area, the second shows the total distribution of training ratings, and the third shows the direction of the ratings during the last third of the time the trainee was in the program. These tables show the overall data from which selected outcome groups are drawn to be presented later in the analysis section.

TABLE 4-31: VOCATIONAL TRAINING ASSIGNMENT

Area	Planned Capacity	Number Enrolled	Percent of Capacity
Auto-Diesel	200	200	100%
Office Machines	75	65	87%
Refrigeration/Heating	75	76	100%
Electrical Appliances	75	74	99%
Vending Mechanics	75	57	76%
Food Service	100	85	85%

TABLE 4-32: AVERAGE VOCATIONAL TRAINING RATINGS

Total Average	Number	Percent
1.90 or less	67	13%
2.00 - 2.49	85	16%
2.50 - 2.99	87	16%
3.00 - 3.49	243	46%
3.50 - 3.99	33	6%
4.00 and up	14	3%
	529	100%

We deemed it useful to see if trends in the vocational training ratings would be useful predictors of continuation in training, successful completion of training and placement. As will be shown later, this is a significant factor. Our first definition of directionality in ratings was based on a comparison of total average vocational rating with the average of the last third of the time the trainee was in the program. We assigned a "level directionality" if the last third average was within three-tenths of a rating point up or down from the total average. If the last third was more than three-tenths of a point above the total, we called it "up", and conversely more than three-tenths below was "down".

TABLE 4-33: DIRECTIONALITY OF VOCATIONAL RATINGS

Direction	Number	Percent
Up	123	23%
Level	212	40%
Down	194	37%
	529	100%

Weekly Training Allowance Information

Under the Manpower Development and Training Act (MDTA), trainees were paid a weekly training allowance dependent on their age, work experience, marital status and attendance. Most TRY trainees had the necessary full year of work experience to qualify for the $44.00 per week allowance rate which increased to $54.00 after ten weeks of acceptable training. A few who were responsible for several dependents received the higher allowances.

TABLE 4-34: WEEKLY TRAINING ALLOWANCE RATES

Rate	Number	Percent
$20 - $30	2	--%
$40 - $49	166	33%
$50 - $59	308	62%
$60 - $69	23	5%
	499	100%

As is pointed out in Chapter Three, the training allowance arrangements created a great many problems. A significant number of short term dropouts occurred either because of a small allowance rating or lateness in receiving checks.

Attendance

The attendance data is most interesting. It needs to be reviewed in a context of local conditions where school absenteeism ranges as high as 40-50% and in the context of project objectives. The project warned trainees when their attendance average fell below 85% that MDTA could terminate their training if their average fell below 80%, but rarely did the project terminate a trainee due to attendance. Trainees were not paid for absences, nor were they given credit for half days. The responsibility for getting to training and making adequate progress was put directly on them. The plan of the project was to be lenient during the early stages of training and to push toward industrial standards during the last four months before graduation when a trainee could see a real job just ahead.

The attendance data is presented in table 4-35. The attendance of short term dropouts has not been included because it tends to be extremely high or extremely low and, therefore, clouds the picture. As was pointed out in Section A of this chapter, this is hard attendance data. All excused absences, sick days, etc., are considered absences.

TABLE 4-35: ATTENDANCE DISTRIBUTION

Total Attendance Average	Number	Percent
50 - 59%	80	18%
60 - 69%	104	24%
70 - 79%	142	32%
80 - 89%	72	16%
90 - 99%	41	10%
	439	100%

An important point which will be made later in the analysis deserves to be highlighted here. That is, if TRY would have imposed the MDTA guideline and terminated any trainee who fell below the 80th percentile, we would have dropped 75% of the trainees, 75% of the graduates, 75% of those placed and 75% of those who stayed placed. The clear point of this data is that attendance is a poor criterion of completion of training and of success in placement for disadvantaged youth.

High School Equivalency Diplomas

Through the assistance of Dr. Howard Matthews of the U.S. Office of Education, TRY was able to prepare young men to take the High School Equivalency Examination while attending TRY. Of the first 32 trainees to take the examination 27 passed and of these 22 were admitted to college. By the summer of 1968 a total of 97 trainees had earned their diplomas.

Program Status Prior To Termination Of Research Phase

The final piece of program data during the research and demonstration phase of the program is a status report on trainees at the close of December, 1967 when the termination notice was received. The comparison of this report with the first report in the next section on outcome data will give some insights into the effect of the termination. We have used the categories provided on the MDTA completion of training form so that this information may be of use to other projects, However, we must point out that due to a lack of clarity of definition and to an uneveness in the quality of followup on terminations, there is limited precision in the categories other than graduation and short term dropout.

TABLE 4-36: TRAINEE STATUS IN PROGRAM DECEMBER 1967

Status	Number		Percent	
Completed	4		1%	
In Training	367		68%	
Armed Forces	6		1%	
Other Training	2		--%	
Sub Total		379		70%
Moved From Area	5		1%	
Dropped Due to Illness	3		--%	
Quit: Insufficient Allowance	13		3%	
Sub Total		21		4%
Short Term Dropout	96		18%	
Long Term Dropout	35		6%	
Misconduct	2		--%	
Institutionalized	5		1%	
Other	6		1%	
Sub Total		144		26%
Grand Total		544		100%

E. DESCRIPTION OF PROGRAM OUTCOME DATA

Introduction

This section deals with outcome data we were able to collect by August 21, 1968. This is, on the average, approximately four months after trainees graduated from the program, but the range is from as short a time as two months up to a maximum of eight months.

As was noted in section A of this chapter, there are great limitations on any interpretation of this data for several reasons: 1) The absence of any exit testing data and interview information, 2) The short term nature of the followup data, 3) Only one followup study of graduates was carried out and it reached only 180 of the 262 graduates, 4) No followup study of dropouts was carried out, therefore comparison data is not available.

The information that is available shows: 1) The status of all trainees at termination from training, 2) The first post-training activity of 180 graduates reached 3) Weekly income rates for placed graduates and 4) Number of additional placements made for trainees who lost jobs.

Status Of Trainees At Termination From Training

This data follows the same pattern as the information on Trainee Status in Program on December, 1967, in Table 4-36. The major differences between the two tables are in the number who have completed training and are graduated, and the number of long term dropouts. This latter group deserves special attention because most of the substantial increase occurred during the months of January and February of 1968. This was the time when the project was making major changes to meet the greatly restricted budget limitations, and, therefore, releasing half of the Life-Skills Educators. The combination of the general disruption to the project and the loss for many trainees of the key linking person they knew in the project, undoubtedly caused more than half of these dropouts to occur. The percentage actually is likely to be considerably higher than this first estimate. Again, it should be pointed out that this report takes the hardest view of the data and considers all of these cases as dropouts.

All first cycle trainee's completed training by July 1, 1968. The three subtotals in Table 4-37 show the percent graduated, the percent who left for good reason, and the percent who dropped out by their own actions or were terminated for cause.

TABLE 4-37: STATUS OF TRAINEES AT TERMINATION
JUNE 30, 1968

Status		Number		Percent
Completed (Graduated)		262		48%
Moved	17		3%	
Illness	6		1%	
Insufficient Allowance	13		3%	
		36		7%
Short term Dropout	96		18%	
Long term Dropout	133		24%	
Misconduct	5		1%	
Institutionalized	6		1%	
Other	6		1%	
		246		45%
Grand Total		544		100%

The above graduation statistics are low in comparison with MDTA Institutional Training Programs on a national basis. The national totals for such programs from August of 1962 to June of 1967 show that of a total enrollment of 600,000 some 361,000 completed or 60%. On the other hand, the TRY graduation statistics are higher than those of some of the better Job Corps operations which only graduate about one-third of those who start. Suggestions on how graduation ratios can be improved will be presented later in Section H.

First Post Training Experience

The first activity of trainees after leaving the program and how long they stay at it, are two of the major criteria by which programs are evaluated. Crucial to such an evaluation is a thorough follow-up study. A review of Manpower Research Projects, (U.S. Department of Labor, June 30, 1967), shows very few followup studies identified as such. The only one of a magnitude close to that necessary for a project like TRY was done by H. H. London of the University of Missouri and was titled, "A Followup Study of MDTA Trainees in the Cities of St. Louis, Kansas City and Joplin, Missouri." This study of adult, predominantly white male and non-white female graduates showed that at each follow up check at 6 months, 12 months and 18 months, that approximately half of the graduates were actively employed, and that another approximately 20 to 25 percent were considered to be between jobs having been previously employed and actively looking for jobs at the time of the follow up check. Missing from this study was comparison data from dropouts and from any control group. The fact that only nine non-white dropouts, ages 18 to 25, were in the study makes comparisons difficult.

As has been reiterated in this report a number of times, the cut-off of research funds prevented the initiation of any of the "Follow-through" services presented in the project design to aid graduates and to serve as a major channel for follow up information. Under the best of conditions it is difficult to maintain contact with youth once they have left a program. TRY's problem was compounded by having to use a smaller staff to place graduates and to recruit more than 500 trainees for a new training cycle. With these priorities, and with no funds for a follow up study, the primary information available to the investigators was on graduates and dropouts who sought placement assistance from the project together with a very modest amount of information that was collected through follow up mailings and then confirmed by telephone calls to employers.

In the following chart most of the categories are self-explanatory, but to avoid any misunderstandings we will define them here. College means selection and admission to an accredited institution of higher education, in this situation the large majority were admitted to four year liberal arts colleges. Training Related Job means that the young man was employed in the industry for which he had received training and that the job called upon the specific skills he had developed in training. Non-Training-Related Job means placement outside the industry and in a job that did not utilize the skills leanred in the program. Other Training Program means acceptance and admission to a special school for advanced training other than a college.

TABLE 4-38: FIRST POST-TRAINING EXPERIENCE

Type	Number	Percent of Graduates	Percent of Known Graduates
College	22	8%	12%
Training Related Job	136	52%	76%
Other Training Programs	3	1%	1%
Armed Forces	12	5%	7%
Non-Training Related Job	7	3%	4%
Unknown	82	31%	--
	262	100%	100%

A one page follow up questionnaire with stamped and return addressed envelope was sent to graduates and long-term dropouts on whom no data was available. There was a 12.5% response to this mailing and results showed that 52% had found employment on their own. Contrasting graduates with dropouts, 75% of the graduates had placed themselves while only 42% of the dropouts did. While inferences cannot be drawn from this very limited and possibly skewed sample, it seems reasonable to assume that at least one-third of the unknown graduates found jobs on their own. If this assumption is accepted then approximately 80% of TRY graduates may be considered placed in a significant or positive activity.

A more detailed breakdown is provided when these areas are reviewed from the point of view of the specific occupational training areas. This information is presented in Table 4-39.

As can be seen from the table, the range of graduation percentage is from 43% to 53%. Those with the highest ratios were Vending Mechanics and Food Service. Those with the lowest ratios were Auto Mechanics, Refrigeration and Electrical Appliance Repair. Also the table shows a wide divergence in the percent of graduates placed ranging from 53% in Auto Mechanics to 94% in Food Service. It is interesting to note that Vending Mechanics, which appeared in all placement department reports to have the greatest difficulty placing graduates stood in the middle range placing 78% of its graduates. One of the most important lines to look at deals with placement in a Training Related Job where the range is from 55% in Office Machines to 88% in Food Service. The lower Office Machines ratio may be due to greater selectivity on the part of employers in this field as the Office Machines area also has by far the largest percentage of graduates employed in non-training related jobs.

TABLE 4-39: OUTCOME DATA RELATED TO AREA OF VOCATIONAL TRAINING

	Auto		Office Machines		Refrig/ Heat		Elec/ Appl.		Vend Mech.		Food Service	
tcome	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
ercent Graduated	92	46%	31	47%	33	43%	32	43%	27	52%	45	53%
irst Post Training Activity												
College	6	12%	1	5%	3	13%	8	30%	2	10%	2	5%
Training Related Job	35	72%	11	55%	19	79%	17	63%	15	75%	39	88%
Other Training & Military	8	16%	3	15%	-	--	2	7%	1	5%	1	2%
Non-Training Related Job	-	--	5	25%	2	8%	-	--	2	10%	2	5%
	49	100%	20	100%	24	100%	27	100%	20	100%	44	100%
ercent of Graduates Placed*		53%		65%		73%		84%		78%		98%*

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* Discrepancies in figures are due to data on five dropouts being included.

** All Food Service Graduates were offered jobs. Several declined the jobs offered.

Starting Weekly Pay Of Graduates On Their First Job

One of the primary motivators for keeping dropouts in training is the potential income increment which results from training. The results from the TRY project present a mixed picture. For one of every two graduates there was an immediate significant increment as a result of training, but in no way did the project reach the goal proposed by the federal agencies of an average of $100 per week in the first job. The actual breakdown presented in Tables 4-40 and 4-41. The first gives results for the project as a whole, the second by vocational training areas.

As can be seen from these results, the best opportunities in times of income in the first job are in Electrical Appliance Repair. The least opportunity appears to exist in the Auto Repair field, but those in Diesel Mechanics generally did much better than those who completed only auto mechanics. Again, if followup data after twelve months on the job could be gathered it would be possible to see rate of growth of income in relation to starting salaries.

Staying Power On The Job And Continuing Placement Efforts

Staying power on the job is an important index of the success of training and of the economy of the total effort. Studies of earlier programs which concentrated on just placing youth and not providing any training or follow up showed that as many as 75% of those placed were no longer employed only two months after starting the job. Hopefully, training makes a difference. The H. H. London study in Missouri showed that approximately half the MDTA graduates were employed at each follow up investigation.

The TRY Project found in its first followup that 70% of those placed were still employed four months later. Of the remaining 30%, some 10% were found to have been fired while 20% were reported to have quit. It should be noted that this represents the first followup and that it comes at a time when unemployment is at its lowest standing (3.7%) in a number of years.

The TRY Project also found that continuing placement assistance was needed by trainees, at least for the first six months after graduation. The TRY Placement Counselors found that an average of three referrals were necessary to achieve the first placement and that for at least 35% of those placements at least one more effort would be necessary in the first six months following graduation. In some cases three placements were necessary and in a few four or five placements were required.

TABLE 4-40: STARTING WEEKLY PAY ON FIRST JOB

Weekly Salary	N	Percent
60-69	14	9%
70-79	55	38%
80-89	46	31%
90-99	19	14%
100-109	6	4%
110+Up	6	4%
	146	100%

TABLE 4-41: STARTING WEEKLY SALARY BY VOCATIONAL TRAINING AREA

	Auto Diesel		Office Machine		Refrig/ Heat		Elec/ Appl.		Vend Mech.		Food Service	
Weekly Salary	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
60-69	7	21%	—	--	4	21%	--	--	--	--	3	8%
70-79	14	43%	4	25%	8	42%	5	24%	2	11%	22	58%
80-89	6	18%	7	44%	5	26%	7	33%	12	63%	9	24%
90-99	5	15%	3	19%	2	11%	3	14%	4	21%	2	5%
100-109	--	--	2	12%	--	--	3	14%	1	5%	--	--
110+up	1	3%	—	--	--	--	3	14%	--	--	2	5%
	33	100%	16	100%	19	100%	21	100%	19	100%	38	100%

F. CHARACTERISTICS OF TRAINING AND PLACEMENT OUTCOME GROUPS

Introduction

The purpose of this section is to present concisely the characteristics of selected training and program outcome groups, to note distinguishing characteristics, and to develop some conclusions regarding these groups.

The information is presented in three subsections: 1) characteristics of graduates, short term and long term dropouts, 2) characteristics of trainees placed in training related and non-training related jobs, in college and in the military, and 3) some information and comments about substance users identified in the program. The data in each subsection is presented in a format similar to the one in which the general data on the TRY population was presented to facilitate coordination with earlier sections of this chapter. A summary of correlations between all the variables and success in training and placement concludes the section.

The limitations on the data noted in Section A of this chapter should be re-emphasized here because the cross tabulation of data into a number of categories makes the number of cases in some of the cells quite small. Furthermore, because this data was set up for an exploratory study, all available data is included and we, therefore, cannot state the degree of consistency which exists between the samples reported. To provide the reader with one check, the percent of the total TRY population of 544 cases is given for each category in the right-hand column, and the number of cases in each distribution is given at the top of each sub-category. It should also be noted that the heading "all other" has been excluded because the numbers are relatively small, and therefore, there will not be a direct correspondence with numbers reported earlier.

Characteristics Of Graduates And Dropouts

The first Table 4-42 presents the background variables against training outcomes of graduation, and long and short term dropouts. Among these background variables there are few characteristics which even moderately distinguish between graduates and the two dropout groups. While the correlation analysis which is presented in a later section shows that none of the background variables have statistically significant correlations above the .15 level with graduation, a detailed analysis of the cross tabulations offers the following findings:

1. Younger trainees (17-18) are somewhat less likely to graduate and somewhat more likely to be short term dropouts.

2. Trainees from the deep south are slightly less likely to be short term dropouts while trainees born in New York are somewhat more likely to do so.

3. Trainees who dropped out-of-school before 9th grade or who completed school are more likely to graduate than those who dropped out during 9th, 10th, or 11th grade.

4. Trainees who left school due to reasons of completion, academic difficulty, or because they moved are more likely to graduate than those who left due to dropping out, truancy, behavior, or court problems.

5. Those who attended commercial and vocational high school programs are somewhat more likely to graduate than those attending either general or academic programs.

6. Single trainees are much more likely than married trainees to graduate. No divorced trainees graduated.

7. Trainees with 1A and 4F draft classifications are somewhat more likely to be short term dropouts.

8. Trainees who have had some previous youth project experience are somewhat more likely to graduate than those who have had none.

TABLE 4-42: TRAINING OUTCOME BY BACKGROUND VARIABLES

Background Variable	Percent Graduated	Percent Short Term Dropout	Percent Long Term Dropout	Percent of Total TRY Population
Age	N=197	N=34	N=98	
17	23%	18%	33%	28%
18	30%	44%	21%	30%
19	28%	18%	31%	21%
20	16%	9%	14%	14%
21	8%	12%	7%	7%
Ethnic	N=201	N=34	N=99	
Negro	74%	70%	79%	75%
Puerto Rican	20%	18%	19%	21%
Caucasian	6%	12%	2%	4%
Birthplace	N=170	N=34	N=82	
Deep South	19%	14%	24%	20%
North East	64%	74%	59%	61%
Islands	18%	12%	17%	15%
Last School Grade Completed	N=209	N=35	N=105	
6th	2%	--%	--%	1%
7th	1%	--%	2%	1%
8th	7%	6%	2%	8%
9th	17%	17%	24%	20%
10th	32%	54%	31%	35%
11th	27%	20%	28%	33%
12th	14%	3%	13%	2%
Reason For Leaving School	N=147	N=25	N=80	
Completed	13%	4%	7%	7%
Academic Diff.	5%	4%	1%	3%
Expelled	13%	--%	7%	7%
Moved	3%	--%	2%	1%
Court Problems	1%	4%	1%	2%
Behavior	6%	20%	8%	7%
Truancy	5%	8%	6%	5%
Dropout	37%	36%	48%	32%
Hardship	16%	24%	16%	15%
Type Of High School Course	N=175	N=34	N=94	
Commercial	12%	12%	7%	10%
Vocational	21%	21%	18%	20%
General	50%	41%	44%	44%
Academic	28%	26%	31%	26%

Table 4-42 continued

Background Variable	Percent Graduated	Percent Short Term Dropouts	Percent Long Term Dropouts	Percent of Total TRY Population
Marital And Dependents	N=199	N=34	N=99	
Single	91%	74%	84%	87%
Married	9%	24%	15%	12%
Divorced	--%	2%	1%	1%
N Dependents	N=196	N=33	N=94	
0	76%	64%	71%	75%
1	9%	9%	10%	9%
2	5%	12%	10%	8%
3	4%	9%	7%	5%
4	3%	--%	1%	2%
5 or more	3%	6%	1%	1%
Draft Status	N=106	N=17	N=52	
1A	49%	47%	56%	53%
1S	7%	--%	2%	7%
1Y	17%	18%	15%	16%
3A	4%	--%	6%	4%
4F	23%	35%	21%	20%
Previous Project Experience	N=241	N=93	N=126	
YOC	2%	--%	1%	2%
Job Corps	5%	--%	5%	6%
N. Y. Corps	3%	--%	4%	4%
YIA	2%	1%	1%	3%
JOIN	6%	3%	6%	7%
Combined Projects	18%	4%	19%	22%
No Previous Project Experience	82%	96%	81%	78%

Test Data For Graduates And Dropouts

The two next Tables 4-43 and 4-44 present the psychological test data against the training outcome groups. Table 4-43 provides means and standard deviations on the test data while Table 4-44 presents the same data in terms of distributions. The reader's attention is again called to the limitations on the uses of psychological tests with the disadvantaged pointed out in Section C of this chapter. To repeat, our purpose is to identify groups that need different educational approaches, not to exclude youth from training.

There are a number of most important implications in the test data which if borne out in other educational projects may suggest a major new educational strategy. The major characteristics are presented below in points 4 and 6.

1. Graduate mean grade levels exceed both short term and long term dropout means on all MAT tests.

2. Graduate mean grade levels on MAT tests are approximately one-half grade level above short term dropout means and nearly a full grade level above long term dropout means.

3. The short term dropouts' I.Q. mean is one-third standard deviation above the mean for graduates and the long term dropouts.

4. SHORT TERM DROPOUTS ARE DISTINGUISHED FROM GRADUATES BY BEING BRIGHTER IN TERMS OF GENERAL LEARNING ABILITY, BUT BEING LESS PROFICIENT IN BASIC, CRUCIALLY IMPORTANT SKILLS SUCH AS READING, WORD KNOWLEDGE, SPELLING, LANGUAGE USAGE, AND ARITHMETICAL COMPUTATION. DIFFERENCES ARE SIGNIFICANT AT THE .05 LEVEL AND SUGGEST VARIATIONS IN THE DESIGN OF THE TRAINING PROGRAM TO INCREASE ITS HOLDING POWER.

5. The Bennett Mechanical Comprehension Test which should be one of the better instruments to distinguish between graduates and long term dropouts in mechanical trade training did not do so with this population.

6. GRADUATES STAND ABOUT ONE-THIRD OF A STANDARD DEVIATION ABOVE BOTH DROPOUT GROUPS ON ALL THREE SCALES OF THE CALIFORNIA TEST OF PERSONALITY. TABLE 4-44 SHOWS THAT ONLY ONE-FOURTH OF THE GRADUATES SCORE IN THE LOW RANGE ON THE PERSONAL ADJUSTMENTS SCALE WHILE ONE-THIRD OF SHORT TERM DROPOUTS AND NEARLY HALF THE LONG TERM DROPOUTS SCORE LOW. ON THE SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT SCALE ONLY ONE-THIRD OF THE GRADUATES ARE LOW WHILE HALF OF BOTH DROPOUT GROUPS ARE LOW.

TABLE 4-43: TRAINING OUTCOMES BY TEST MEANS

	Graduates N=210		Short Term Dropouts N=67		Long Term Dropouts N-98	
MAT Tests*	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.
Word Knowledge	6.8	2.2	6.0	2.6	5.9	2.4
Reading Comp	6.5	2.1	5.9	2.2	5.8	2.1
Spelling	6.8	2.1	6.1	2.3	5.8	2.2
Language Use	5.5	1.7	4.7	1.7	4.7	1.5
Language Skills	6.1	2.1	5.9	2.1	5.4	1.9
Arithmetic Comp	6.1	1.4	5.7	1.1	5.7	1.2
	N=171		N=66		N=73	
Beta I.Q. **	93.98	12.6	97.52	14.3	93.53	11.2
	N=157		N=62		N=64	
Bennett Mech. ***	21.7	10.5	21.8	9.8	21.5	9.7
	N=164		N=67		N=68	
California Test of Personality****						
Personal	37.0	25.2	29.0	22.5	29.0	25.2
Social	28.3	22.8	23.1	20.3	23.6	22.9
Total	32.2	22.1	24.7	19.3	25.6	22.0

*MAT Test means are presented in terms of school grade level. Thus graduates average 6.8 grade level in word knowledge.

** The Beta I.Q. test are presented in standard normal scores with average being 100.

*** Bennett Mechanical Comprehension test means are in terms of raw scores with a possible range from 0 to 60.

**** California Test of Personality means are in the form of percentiles.

Note: Mean scores of graduates are significantly different from those of both dropout groups at the .05 level except for the both groups on the Bennett Mechanical Test, for short term dropouts on the Language Skills test, and for long term dropouts on the Beta I.Q.

TABLE 4-44: TRAINING OUTCOMES BY TEST RESULTS

Ability Tests	Percent Graduated	Percent Short Term Dropouts	Percent Long Term Dropouts	Percent of Total TRY Population
BETA I.Q.	N=171	N=66	N-73	
Very Low	13%	9%	12%	11%
Low	23%	20%	23%	23%
Low Average	27%	20%	27%	26%
High Average	25%	30%	29%	27%
High	11%	15%	7%	11%
Superior	1%	6%	1%	2%
MAT READING Grades	N=210	N=68	N=100	
1.0 to 3.9	11%	24%	20%	15%
4.0 to 5.9	34%	38%	40%	38%
6.0 to 7.9	28%	16%	23%	23%
8.0 to 9.9	14%	10%	9%	13%
10.0 up	12%	12%	8%	12%
MAT WORD KNOWLEDGE	N=227	N=66	N=98	
Low	18%	41%	34%	28%
Medium	53%	33%	47%	49%
High	24%	24%	16%	23%
MAT SPELLING	N=207	N=67	N=98	
Low	14%	42%	33%	25%
Medium	60%	39%	53%	58%
High	20%	19%	11%	17%
MAT MATH	N=220	N=62	N=103	
Low	20%	24%	30%	24%
Medium	74%	73%	67%	72%
High	6%	3%	3%	4%
CALIFORNIA PERSONAL ADJ.	N=162	N=67	N=68	
Low	26%	34%	44%	30%
Medium	66%	66%	49%	62%
High	8%	3%	7%	8%
CALIFORNIA SOCIAL ADJ.	N=162	N=67	N=68	
Low	33%	50%	49%	39%
Medium	57%	47%	47%	56%
High	10%	3%	4%	5%

Program Data For Graduates and Dropouts

Contrasting the program data for graduate and dropout groups produces a number of important findings some of which are supported by findings from other projects. The basic data is presented in Table 4-45. The findings are as follows:

(1) While medical information is lacking on nearly half the TRY population, if a random distribution is assumed, then health problems are not a significant factor determining whether a trainee will graduate or not. This conclusion was also reached by London in his study of MDTA graduates.

(2) THE AVERAGE VOCATIONAL TRAINING RATING IS THE MOST EFFECTIVE, THE MOST SENSITIVE AND THE EARLIEST INDEX OF SUCCESS IN TRAINING. The rating is an intra-vocational class rating ranging on a scale from 0 to 5 given weekly by the instructor to each of his 15 trainees. A cut-off value of 2.8 on the scale identifies 60% of the dropouts and includes only 14% of the graduates, thus the counseling effort of an organization can be focused on a group in need of prompt assistance.

(3) DIRECTIONALITY OF VOCATIONAL TRAINING RATING ADDS TO THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE VOCATIONAL TRAINING RATING AS AN INDEX OF SUCCESS IN TRAINING. Less than 21% of the graduates show a decline in directionality during the last third of their total time in the program while 53% of the dropouts show such a decline.

(4) ATTENDANCE DOES NOT PREDICT SUCCESS IN TRAINING. While it is not possible to definitively state the reasons for this, it seems likely that the average pace that each group had to maintain due to the decision to have heterogeneous ability groupings may have caused the brighter students to feel that they could handle the work in fewer days and that they could be more profitably employed outside the project. An analysis of attendance and Beta I.Q. data shows that 62% of those standing above the mean on intelligence stand below the mean on attendance.

TABLE 4-45: TRAINING OUTCOMES BY PROGRAM VARIABLES

	Percent Graduated	Percent Short Term Dropout	Percent Long Term Dropout	Percent of Total TRY Population
Medical Evaluation	N=186	N=37	N=87	
Healthy	45%	51%	37%	44%
Non-Significant	17%	16%	23%	18%
Significant	28%	27%	31%	28%
Urgent	9%	5%	9%	10%
Average Vocational Training Rating	N=234	N=79	N=129	
1.9 or less	2%	39%	12%	13%
2.0 - 2.49	5%	27%	31%	16%
2.5 - 2.99	14%	11%	17%	16%
3.0 - 3.49	62%	19%	38%	46%
3.5 - 3.99	12%	1%	2%	6%
4.0 and up	4%	2%	1%	3%
Grouped Average Vocational Training Rating	N=234	N=79	N=129	
2.79 or less	14%	74%	50%	
2.8 or more	86%	26%	50%	
Direction of Vocational Training Rating	N=232	N=85	N=129	
Up	30%	15%	20%	23%
Level	49%	39%	28%	40%
Down	21%	46%	53%	37%
Attendance %	N=203	N=79	N=126	
50-59 %	13%	50%	40%	18%
60-69 %	26%	18%	16%	24%
70-79 %	33%	11%	34%	32%
80-89 %	22%	6%	9%	16%
90-99 %	5%	14%	2%	10%

Characteristics of Placed Trainees

The placement of TRY graduates needs to be seen against the background of employment patterns in the community, particularly among its Negro and Puerto Rican youth.

Bedford-Stuyvesant was one of three New York City communities to be surveyed in the first house-to-house "sub-employment" study by the U.S. Labor in November, 1966, just as TRY was admitting its first trainees. This study showed that while the unemployment rate in the United States at that time was 3.7% and in New York was 4.0%, the sub-employment index for Bedford-Stuyvesant was 27.6%. More than one of every four residents has a serious employment problem. Practically all TRY trainees came from homes represented in this 27.6%.

A further point from the summary of this report is most important. It states that unemployment and sub-employment in these areas is more a matter of personal condition than of economic opportunity. It is primarily due to inferior education, limited skills, police and garnishment records, discrimination, fatherless children, unnecessarily rigid hiring restrictions, and hopelessness (U.S. Labor Department, November, 1966).

Puerto Rican residents in Brooklyn increased by 54,000 between 1960 and 1964. The total number of Puerto Rican youth under ten years of age in Brooklyn in 1964 was 78,500, the largest of any borough in New York City. In 1960 more than half of all Puerto Rican families had incomes of less than $4000. The sub-employment rate for Puerto Ricans in Bedford-Stuyvesant was 29.7% in 1966. (U.S. Department of Labor, June, 1968).

These facts present a disturbing picture of the effort necessary to create change of a lasting nature because the whole milieu of these youth is not only non-supportive, it is negatively reinforcing.

The three sub-sections that follow, present quite a remarkable picture against the facts noted above. The large majority of TRY graduates were placed and stayed placed for an average of at least four months. Most were placed in training related jobs at salaries significantly above the poverty level. A very small number were placed in jobs not related to their training at TRY. Modest numbers entered college and the armed forces, and we lack outcome information on approximately 30% of the graduates. These groups of placed trainees are reported on against the same grouping of variables presented earlier: background characteristics, test results, and program data. Relevant findings from each area are summarized in the sub-section.

Background Characteristics of Placed Trainees

Table 4-46 presents the background characteristics of the various placement groups. As with earlier tables, the far right hand column provides a comparison of the percent of the total TRY population falling in each line category.

A review of the data may be summarized by the following comments, all but one of which are not statistically significant. The exception is "Year Left School" which shows that the longer a trainee has been out of school, the more likely he is to be placed. The comments, most of which follow results of other projects, are:

(1) It is more difficult to place younger graduates.

(2) Older trainees are more likely to get training related jobs.

(3) Graduates born in the Deep South are more likely to be placed in each placement group, except the armed forces, than are graduates born in New York.

(4) There is a slight tendency for graduates with more years of education to be placed. This is particularly true of those continuing to college.

(5) Those who left school three years or more before entering TRY are more likely to be placed.

(6) Graduates who completed public school or said they just "dropped out" of school are more likely to be placed. This suggests that there may be two groups within the category of dropouts: those who tend to drop out (see section E) and those who succeed, who show up here.

(7) While previous project experience was a good predictor of success in training, it is not a useful predictor of success in placement.

TABLE 4-46: PLACEMENT OUTCOME BY BACKGROUND VARIABLES

	Training-Related Placement	Non-Training-Related Placement	Armed Forces	College	TRY Grad No Info	Percent of Total TRY Population
Age	N=99	N=7	N=7	N=17	N=55	
17	19%	60%	20%	24%	27%	28%
18	27%	--	20%	24%	38%	30%
19	27%	20%	20%	18%	18%	21%
20	16%	--	20%	29%	11%	14%
21	11%	20%	--	6%	5%	7%
Ethnic	N=81	N=7	N=7	N=16	N=55	
Negro	78%	57%	43%	87%	67%	75%
Puerto Rican	15%	14%	43%	13%	25%	21%
Caucasian	7%	28%	14%	--	7%	4%
Birthplace	N=69	N=5	N=5	N=14	N=46	
Deep South	26%	40%	--	29%	13%	20%
North East	58%	60%	60%	57%	70%	61%
Islands	16%	--	40%	14%	17%	15%
Grade Left School	N=83	N=6	N=6	N=18	N=57	
6th	2%	--	--	6%	2%	1%
7th	1%	--	--	--	2%	1%
8th	10%	--	--	6%	5%	8%
9th	20%	33%	17%	6%	18%	20%
10th	29%	50%	33%	16%	26%	35%
11th	22%	--	33%	44%	36%	33%
12th	16%	17%	17%	22%	11%	2%
Year Left School	N=62	N=5	N=4	N=11	N=41	
1958 & prior	2%	--	--	9%	--	} 1%
1959-60	3%	--	--	--	--	
1961-62	8%	20%	--	9%	5%	5%
1963-64	31%	--	--	18%	20%	22%
1965-66	42%	60%	25%	46%	63%	55%
1967-68	14%	20%	75%	18%	12%	17%

Table 4-46 continued

	Training-Related Placement	Non-Training-Related Placement	Armed Forces	College	TRY Grad No Info	Percent of Total TRY Population
Reason For Leaving School	N=79	N=6	N=6	N=16	N=53	
Completed	14%	17%	--	6%	8%	7%
Hardship	15%	--	33%	--	15%	15%
Truancy	3%	--	17%	6%	3%	5%
Court	--	17%	--	--	2%	2%
Behavior	6%	--	--	--	3%	7%
Dropout	28%	66%	--	31%	17%	7%
Acad. Prob.	4%	--	--	--	6%	3%
Expelled	11%	--	17%	--	8%	7%
Other	19%	--	33%	56%	38%	21%
Type High School Course	N=79	N=6	N=6	N=16	N=52	
Academic	27%	17%	33%	25%	25%	26%
Commercial	8%	--	--	25%	12%	10%
Vocational	17%	--	17%	19%	27%	20%
General	48%	83%	50%	31%	36%	44%
Marital Status	N=81	N=6	N=6	N=17	N=55	
Single	91%	100%	100%	88%	87%	87%
Married	9%	--	--	12%	13%	12%
N Dependents	N=74	N=6	N=6	N=17	N=52	
0	74%	100%	100%	82%	73%	75%
1	9%	--	--	--	15%	9%
2	7%	--	--	12%	6%	8%
3	6%	--	--	6%	4%	5%
4 or more	4%	--	--	--	2%	2%
Previous Project Experience	N=18	N=1	N=0	N=3	N=11	
JOIN	44%	--	--	33%	18%	7%
Job Corps	22%	--	--	67%	27%	6%
JOC	11%	--	--	--	18%	2%
N. Y. Corps	17%	100%	--	--	27%	4%
YIA	6%	--	--	--	9%	3%

Test Data on Placement Groups

The test data on the various placement groups is presented in Table 4-47. The number in each cell on this table is relatively small so the support for conclusions is limited. The conclusions which do seem to be justified from this data are:

(1) Non-verbal intelligence as measured by the Beta I.Q. does not appear to be a factor relevant to placement as placement in training-related jobs follows the same proportions as in the total TRY population. It is relevant for the college and armed forces groups.

(2) The MAT ability tests are low positive predictors of success in placement.

A partial analysis of interest inventory data shows several patterns which, if borne out by other studies, might lead to a better use of interest inventories with disadvantaged populations. Data for the Minnesota Vocational Interest inventory was organized for two vocational training groups, Electrical Appliance Repair and Food Service Training, to show the relative standing of graduates placed in training related jobs, graduates not so placed, and dropouts from these training areas in comparison with the interests of men actively employed in these occupational fields. The results are presented in Table 4-48.

The reader is referred back to the general results of interest measures found in Table 4-23, as a basis for this discussion. It will be noted that the electrical appliance trainees tended to score high in electrical work interests and low to medium in food service work interest. The Food Service trainees, conversely, scored high in their own field and generally low in electronic interests. The question now is, do the interest results differentiate between graduates placed in training-related jobs and dropouts from a given trade training area?

The results seen in Table 4-48 suggest they do and this is confirmed by the correlation analysis in the next section, however, due to the small number in each cell results must be viewed with considerable caution. Interest test results differentiate between training related placed graduates, graduates in general, and dropouts for a trade training area, with the single exception of auto mechanics.

TABLE 4-47: PLACEMENT OUTCOME BY TEST DATA

	Training-Related Placement	Non-Training-Related Placement	Armed Forces	College	TRY Grad No Info	Percent of Total TRY Population
Beta IQ	N=58	N=5	N=8	N=15	N=47	
Very Low	14%	20%	--	13%	10%	11%
Low	24%	--	37%	--	28%	23%
Low Avg.	36%	40%	--	40%	15%	26%
High Avg.	10%	40%	37%	33%	38%	27%
High	14%	--	25%	7%	9%	11%
Very High	2%	--	--	7%		2%
Mat Word	N=78	N=6	N=10	N=20	N=56	
Low	23%	--	30%	--	25%	28%
Medium	63%	50%	40%	35%	54%	49%
High	14%	50%	30%	65%	21%	23%
Mat Reading	N=75	N=7	N=10	N=20	N=56	
Low	16%	--	30%	--	11%	35%
Medium	67%	71%	30%	50%	64%	48%
High	17%	29%	40%	50%	25%	17%
Mat Spelling	N=77	N=7	N=10	N=18	N=55	
Low	21%	--	30%	6%	20%	25%
Medium	68%	71%	60%	33%	58%	58%
High	11%	29%	10%	61%	22%	17%
Mat Math Comp	N=82	N=7	N=10	N=21	N=56	
Low	26%	14%	30%	5%	18%	24%
Medium	70%	71%	70%	71%	79%	72%
High	4%	14%	--	24%	3%	4%

TABLE 4-48: INTEREST RESULTS OF TWO PLACEMENT GROUPS

A. Interests of trainees in Electrical Appliance Training

MVII Electrical Interest	Training Related Placement N=12	Other Elec. Graduates N=9	Elec. Program Dropouts N=16
Low	0%	11%	31%
Average	8%	11%	25%
High	92%	78%	44%

B. Interests of trainees in Food Service Training

MVII Food Interest	Training Related Placement N=17	Other Food Graduates N=12	Food Service Program Dropouts N=10
Low	0%	8%	10%
Average	6%	33%	40%
High	94%	58%	50%

A causal review of other vocational training groups following this same pattern shows the same trends, except for the auto mechanics group and mechanical interests. This follows other studies (Clark, 1965).

Personality test results for specific placement groups are not significantly different from those of the total group of graduates reported in Table 4-43.

Program Data on Placed Trainees

Table 4-49 presents the program data on the various groups of placed trainees. The results are consistent with those on the graduate group as a whole reported on page 4-64 with the following exceptions:

(1) A larger percentage of those placed in jobs were evaluated as "healthy," than is true of the TRY population as a whole, but this does not change finding 1 on page 4-64.

(2) A larger percentage of those placed in jobs scored high in their average vocational training rating than did graduates in general which strengthens finding 2 on page 4-64.

TABLE 4-49: PLACEMENT OUTCOME BY PROGRAM DATA

	Training-Related Placement	Non Training-Related Placement	Armed Forces	College	TRY Grad No Info	Percent of Total TRY Population
Medical Evaluation	N=70	N=6	N=8	N=20	N=50	
Healthy	54%	66%	25%	40%	36%	44%
Non-Significant	14%	17%	13%	10%	24%	18%
Significant	25%	17%	62%	35%	30%	28%
Urgent	6%	--	--	15%	10%	10%
Average Vocational Trng. Rating	N=93	N=7	N=11	N=22	N=64	
2.49 Low	5%	14%	36%	9%	14%	29%
2.5-3.49 Avg.	73%	57%	64%	77%	75%	62%
3.5+ High	22%	29%	--	14%	11%	9%
Attendance	N=92	N=6	N=11	N=22	N=64	
50-59%	28%	17%	45%	18%	23%	18%
60-69%	20%	17%	18%	23%	25%	24%
70-79%	28%	66%	--	27%	34%	32%
80-89%	20%	--	27%	23%	14%	16%
90-99%	4%	--	9%	9%	3%	10%
Termination Status *						
Graduated	136	7	12	22	82	48%
Moved, Sick, etc.	--	--	--	--	--	7%
Short Term DO**	--	--	--	--	--	18%
Long Term DO	--	--	--	--	--	24%
Other	--	--	--	--	--	3%

*Actual numbers given in this table, not percentiles.

**Dropout

Substance Users

The problems of drug usage and the steps which the TRY project took in attempting to deal with them are described in Section E of Chapter Three. The data summarized here comes from an analysis of information on 43 heroin derivative users known to the TRY Project.

Conclusions from this data have to be viewed with considerable caution because the numbers are small and the personal data about the users is thin, for example, we have no real information on the degree of use of drugs by trainees. However, there are some general impressions from the total data which are interesting and may be of use to other training projects. This is particularly true of the pattern of life style of users at TRY.

As Brotman and Freedman 1965 point out, there has been a dearth of studies probing the relationship of addict behavior to community attitudes and public policy, therefore it is an obligation of demonstration and research programs to look at this problem and to add to the knowledge that is currently available. Brotman and Freedman selected life style adaption (defined by the degree of an addict's involvement in conventional and in criminal areas of life) as the central variable for their study. The major life styles they identified are: conformist, two worlder, hustler and uninvolved. Conformists are defined as working at least 50% of the time since addicted, holding a job for more than a year after addiction, helping to support family, having friends who are mostly non-users, belonging to some outside organization, tending not to have a police record or to have been in jail, and tending to hide their use of drugs. In extreme contrast to this group are the hustlers who are high in criminality, tend to live in a user social system, work less than half the time, keep changing friendship groups and avoid alternatives to addict-world activities. The uninvolved group is characterized by little work experience, few or no friends, little or no relationship to family, low criminality, and high dependency on drugs. Finally, the two-worlders are described as being high in both conventionality and criminality. They hold jobs, support families, have at least two close and lasting friendships, yet at the same time have a number of involvements with the law and with persons involved in criminal and hustler life styles.

The Brotman and Freedman study shows the following breakout of proportionate membership in these various groups of the population of 248 substance users in their program.

		Conventionality	
		High	Low
Criminality	Low	"Conformists" 23%	"Uninvolved" 21%
	High	"Two Worlders" 25%	"Hustlers" 30%

A review of the data on substance users at TRY suggests that a significant number may fall in the descriptive category of "two worlders". If this assumption is borne out by studies in other urban training projects, it may offer some clues as to special approaches with substance users in job training programs. This is particularly relevant because the "two worlders" as a group would appear to be most likely to seek out training programs, and at the same time, be most difficult to identify. The problem is further compounded by the probability that there are several sub-groups within the "two worlder" group which, while apparently indistinguishable from one another, are headed in quite different directions. One sub-group appears to be heading toward a more conventional life-style and the other toward more of a hustler-style.

Table 4-50 presents data on some selected variables in which the substance users appear to differ from the entire TRY population. It is primarily on the basis of this information that the assumptions about the group of substance users in TRY are founded. Users at TRY are two and one-half times more likely to be married, three times as likely to have two or more dependents, more likely to be older and to be classified 1A by the draft. They are slightly less likely to be on probabtion or parole. They are likely to have better attendance records, stay at TRY longer and receive higher training allowances than the average trainee. At the same time they are almost twice as likely to have a significant medical problem other than drug use, to have a lower average vocational training rating, to be less likely to graduate and to be ten times more likely to be dismissed from the project than is the average trainee.

Test data shows the mean scores for substance users to stand roughly

TABLE 4-50: DIFFERENTIATING CHARACTERISTICS OF SUBSTANCE USERS

	Percent Total TRY Population N=522	Percent Substance Users N=37
Background Variables		
Married	12%	30%
More than 1 Dependent	16%	50%
Birthplace New York	64%	68%
Age 17	28%	13%
18	30%	27%
19	21%	30%
20	14%	20%
21	7%	10%
Probation or Parole	14%	12%
*Draft Status 1A	53%	64%
4F	20%	23%
Program Variables		
Rated Healthy	44%	19%
Medical Problem	38%	67%
Avg. Voc. Rating 3.0 UP	55%	44%
Attendance 80% UP	26%	30%
Training Allowance $50+	67%	80%
5+ Months at TRY	75%	88%
Program Outcome Variables		
Graduated	48%	31%
Moved, Illness, etc.	7%	5%
Short Term Dropout	18%	10%
Long Term Dropout	24%	23%
Other - Dismissed	3%	31%

*Draft status was available on only 22 Substance Users.

at the midpoint between graduates and short term dropouts on the MAT ability tests, to stand lower than all groups on the Beta I.Q. and Bennett Mechanical, and higher than all groups on the California Test Personality (see Table 4-43).

For perhaps as much as a third of the user group, the opportunity to participate in a training program composed primarily of non-users may offer the very essential means for them to overcome their dependency on drugs and be able to move into a more conventional life style. On the other hand, at least another third of the user group appears to have much more of a hustler life-style and tend to remove themselves from the program by being unable to stop or greatly reduce their use of drugs. The middle third of the user population is the hardest group about which to make a decision. On the basis of our very limited experience it would appear that as long as trainees are willing to participate in the laboratory testing program of the project, remain free from use of heroin, and make satisfactory progress, they should be allowed to continue in training.

In summary, this preliminary study of available data on heroin and heroin derivative users at TRY suggest that a majority of them may fall in the "two worlder" classification as defined by Brotman and Freedman. If this conclusion is verified by research in other projects, it means that project management is faced with very difficult problems not only in identifying substance users, but also in determining what to do with such users who may vary considerably in the extent of their dependency on drugs and in their concern for and capability of providing for their families. A number of useful suggestions are made in a second publication by Brotman and Freedman titled, "A Community Mental Health Approach to Drug Addiction", 1968.

Summary of Relationships Between the Variables Studied and Success in Training and Success in Placement

A correlation matrix was run on 47 variables selected from the 90 listed at the beginning of this chapter. A total of 229 correlations with values of .15 or higher were identified. This is approximately twice the number which might have occurred by chance. Table 4-51 presents the significant correlations with values of .15 or more between the 47 selected background, test and program variables and three indices each of success in training and success in placement.

First, looking at the three measures of success in training, it is noticed that there are no significant correlations with background variables. Eight trends which appear in these variables are reported on page 4-58.

TABLE 4-51: SIGNIFICANT CORRELATIONS WITH SUCCESS IN TRAINING AND PLACEMENT

	Success In Training			Post-Training Success		
	Avg. Voc. Rating	Dir. Voc. Rating	Grad from TRY	Placement	Starting Pay	College
Background Variables						
Age						
Ethnic				.17		
Last School Grade						
Year Left School				-.19		
No. Dependents					.19	
Other Project Trng.						
Probation-Parole					-.23	
Test Variables						
MAT - Word				.18		.39
MAT - Read				.22		.40
MAT - Spell		.16	.17	.22		.33
MAT - Lang. Use		.22	.20	.25		.39
MAT - Lang. Skill				.17		.42
MAT - Arith Comp			.16	.27	.16	.33
BETA - I.Q.						
BENNETT - Mech.				.31	-.18	.27
MVII - Mech.			-.17			
MVII - Food						
MVII - Elec.					.22	
MVII - Office				.20	.21	
MVII - Clean				.14		
MVII - Outdoor				-.16		-.18
PII - Nature				-.42		
PII - Mech.						
PII - Bus.				.36		
PII - Sci.				.22		
PII - Verbal				.27		
PII - Time				.16		
Program Variables						
Mos. at TRY	.47	.15	.50	.42	.31	
Attend. Percent			.15			
Trng. Allowance			.26	.24	.17	
Mos. Voc. Rating	.40		.19	.28	.17	
Avg. Voc. Rating		.30	.43	.27	.21	
Dir. Voc. Rating			.25	.24		
Trng. Status 12/67	.49		.61			
Grad. Status 5/68			1.00	.72		

Next, it is noted that there are very few correlations between success in training and test scores. Those which do occur are quite low (less than .25), and offer very little in the way of guidelines for identifying those most likely to succeed in training. An important qualification of this impression is that Interest Test measures become significant when they are organized by vocational training areas (see page 4-70).

ON THE BASIS OF THOSE MEASURES WHICH CAN BE DERIVED BEFORE ENTRY, I. E. BACKGROUND INFORMATION AND TEST INFORMATION, IT DOES NOT APPEAR TO BE POSSIBLE TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN THOSE WHO WILL GRADUATE AND THOSE WHO WILL DROPOUT, THEREFORE, IT APPEARS ESSENTIAL TO KEEP THE OPPORTUNITY FOR TRAINING OPEN TO THE VERY LARGE MAJORITY OF DISADVANTAGED YOUTH WHO DESIRE TRAINING AND WHO ARE NOT FUNCTIONALLY DISABLED TO THE POINT WHERE VOCATIONAL TRAINING FOR SKILLED JOBS IS INAPPROPRIATE.

When program variables are examined in relation to the three measures of success in training, twelve significant correlations emerge, the lowest of which is attendance. As noted earlier on page 4-64, the earliest and best indicator of success in training is the average vocational training rating. Other findings regarding program variables are also summarized there.

Shifting to the three indices of post-training success, it is again noted that there are very few significant correlations with the background variables and that those which do occur are low. It is particularly interesting to note that the background variables most frequently used by industry in placement decisions do not have significant correlations, ie, age, years of education, no police record. The low positive correlation of .17 on Ethnic means that Negro youth were somewhat more likely to be placed than non-Negro youth. While being on probation or parole did not appear to be a negative factor in employment, it has a definite negative effect on starting salary.

IT IS MOST INTERESTING TO NOTE THAT TEST DATA CORRELATES MORE HIGHLY WITH SUCCESS IN PLACEMENT THAN IT DOES WITH SUCCESS IN TRAINING, WHEREAS USUALLY JUST THE OPPOSITE IS THE CASE. It is to be expected that the highest correlations would be between college placement and MAT test results, but it is quite unusual that there should be 16 significant correlations with placement and only 4 with success in training. The most likely explanation for this reversal of the more common experience is that employers, without using tests and without having TRY entrance test data made available to them, were more selective on the basis of ability factors than was the project.

Many other factors besides ability test results are involved in the outcomes of graduation and placement. If one deals only with ability test results for the moment, then the larger number of significant correlations with placement success than with training success may be good for several reasons. First, it means that the educational program of the project is allowing trainees to select their vocational area and complete them without putting unnecessary qualification requirements on entrance to and continuance in each program. Second, it means that, while companies tend to pick the average and above average trainee over the below average trainee, other factors are much more important in the employment decision than measured abilities. Thirdly, it means that a large number of youth who failed on school tests have completed training, have been placed and have kept their jobs more on the basis of what they are able to do than on the basis of much less relevant factors such as level of education or employment selection test results.

This seems to us to be as it should be. The primary consideration should be that disadvantaged youth have an opportunity to attempt what they want to do as far as training is concerned, that they have every assistance in that effort, and finally that job opportunities ought to come on the basis of functional ability to do the job. The company, not the training program, should make the decision regarding functional capability.

The interest test correlations with placement also offer an interesting picture. It must be remembered that these correlations are for the entire group of placed trainees, and therefore are a composite of all vocational training areas. The reader is referred to Tables 4-23, 4-24, and 4-48 for differentiation by trade training area. The composite in Table 4-51 is interesting in that it suggests that placed trainees have a group interest pattern which is lower on outdoor and mechanical interests and high on business, office and clean hands interests. More important, however, will be studies to follow up the implications from Table 4-48, to see if measured interests may be better predictors of placement with the disadvantaged than with middle class groups. One possible reason for such a difference might be that interest tests may be better predictors of motivation among the disadvantaged than with more affluent groups, particularly if the occupations presented do not require higher education.

Among the program variables it should be noted that all but attendance show a positive significant correlation with placement. Also, it should be noted that most of the variables have a positive significant correlation with starting pay on the job.

G. THE LIFE-SKILLS EDUCATION STAFF

Introduction

The Life-Skills Educator role model represented one of the major innovations to be tested out in the TRY Project. While the idea for a teacher-counselor role is not new (see Arbuckle in Clark, 1968), a program design and a job description which fully integrates the two roles for a whole educational system does appear to be fairly unique.

One of the second year research goals of the TRY project was to analyze the effectiveness of the Life-Skills Educator role through an investigation of trainee-instructor relationships, Life-Skills lesson plans, counseling reports, and the overall outcomes of training on a group by group basis. While the demonstration-research phase was cut off before even the first year effort was completed, we feel it is useful to present the information that is available on Life-Skills Educators to illustrate how a part of this analysis might be carried out.

The purpose of this section is to describe the Life-Skills Educators associated with the Project in terms of the background data available, and to discuss the differences between those rated as most effective and those rated least effective.

Selection Rationale In Brief

The rationale behind the selection plan for Life-Skills Educators appears in detail in the TRY Proposal and elsewhere in this report. A brief recapitulation of the plan is useful here as background for the discussion of the data concerning the teaching staff. The basic idea was to select a mix of instructors drawn from education, counseling, and a variety of other fields such as law, business, industry, Peace Corps, etc. Such a sample of instructors would permit the testing of several staff training and educational strategy assignments on the basis of instructor characteristics. The goal was to show how the manpower pool for educating disadvantaged youth could be effectively increased.

The following tables and discussions describe the staff actually recruited and comment on the degree to which initial plans and expectations were met, fallen short of, or found to be unrealistic or undesirable.

Who Were They?

The primary selection factors for instructional staff were experience with disadvantaged youth and occupational field. Table 4-51 lists the occupational involvements of the Life-Skills Educators in the last three positions before joining the TRY staff, indicating in a general way the longitudinal work history of the teaching staff. As can be readily seen, a reasonably good balance of occupational fields was obtained with perhaps, a slight over-emphasis on the education and recreation areas.

TABLE 4-52: OCCUPATIONAL AREA-LAST THREE POSITIONS PRIOR TO TRY (N=40)

Area	Last Postion	2nd Last	3rd Last
Education	35.0%	27.5%	27.5%
Counseling	7.5%	7.5%	--
Social Work	15.0%	--	7.5%
Probation	2.5%	5.0%	--
Recreation	17.5%	20.0%	15.0%
Communication	2.5%	2.5%	--
Religion	2.5%	2.5%	2.5%
Business	2.5%	10.0%	10.0%
Other	15.0%	25.0%	25.0%
None	--	--	12.5%
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

The level of the prior work experience is also important in understanding the occupational background of the Life-Skills Education teaching staff. More than seventy percent of the incoming Life-Skills Educators had professional, administrative or managerial experience prior to joining TRY. This can be seen in Table 4-52 which also illustrates other characteristics of the work-experience patterns of the staff.

TABLE 4-53: OCCUPATIONAL LEVEL-LAST THREE POSITIONS PRIOR TO TRY (N=40)

Level	Last Position	2nd Last	3rd Last
Professional	62.5%	50.0%	45.0%
Administrative Asst.	7.5%	10.0%	7.5%
Managerial	2.5%	5.0%	2.5%
Sub-Professional	17.5%	10.0%	7.5%
Skilled, Tech. Asst.	--	2.5%	5.0%
Semi-Skilled, Clerical	2.5%	7.5%	2.5%
Unskilled	7.5%	15.0%	17.5%
None	--	--	12.5%
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

The educators coming from the professional, administrative and managerial ranks averaged 4.5 years of experience at that level. Those coming from the sub-professional, skilled and semi-skilled ranks averaged 4.9 years of work experience. Five recent college graduates had very little or no full time permanent work experience at all. Though it will be elaborated later, it is interesting to note in passing, that one of the educators drawn from the ranks of the skilled workers was unanimously rated as one of the most capable teachers.

The ethnic composition of the Life-Skills Education staff generally paralleled the student population, with the exception of the Spanish speaking students. The project was not successful in recruiting Puerto Rican educators. It did attract adequate numbers of white educators, in accordance with the overall intention to develop an integrated program. The ethnic composition is detailed in Table 4-53.

TABLE 4-54: ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF LIFE-SKILLS EDUCATOR STAFF

Ethnic Group	N.	Percent
Negro	35	87.5%
Caucasian	5	12.5%
Puerto Rican	--	--
Other	--	--
	40	100.0%

Where Did They Come From?

Most of the Life-Skills Educators were born and raised in urban areas of the North or South. More than half of them were born in northern metropolitan areas and five migrating from southern areas during childhood received their high school educations in the North. Of the remainder, the majority were born and raised in small, rural southern towns; only one came from the Islands. The actual distributions of places of birth and high school education appear in Table 4-54 and Table 4-55.

TABLE 4-55: BIRTHPLACE OF LIFE-SKILLS EDUCATORS

Location	N	Percent
Brooklyn	3	7.5%
Other Boroughs, NYC	5	12.5%
Other Metropolitan NY Areas	3	7.5%
Other Northern Metropolitan Areas	10	25.0%
Southern Metropolitan Areas	11	27.5%
Northern Small Town, Rural	--	--
Southern Small Town, Rural	7	17.5%
Islands & Central America	1	2.5%
All Other	--	--
	40	100.0%

TABLE 4-56: LOCATION OF HIGH SCHOOL OF LIFE-SKILLS EDUCATORS

Location	N	Percent
Brooklyn	6	15.0%
Other Boroughs, NYC	5	12.5%
Other Metropolitan NY Areas	3	7.5%
Other Northern Metropolitan Areas	12	30.0%
Southern Metropolitan Areas	9	22.5%
Northern Small Town, Rural	--	--
Southern Small Town, Rural	5	12.5%
Islands & Central America	--	--
All Other	--	--
	40	100.0%

Personal Characteristics

In addition to drawing from diverse occupational fields TRY also attempted to obtain a balance as to age, sex and educational levels within the limits imposed by the demands and requirements of the Life-Skills Educator role. Though role identification needs and safety considerations required largely a male teaching staff, a number of women were recruited. About half of them were able to meet the requirements for classroom control; the others had a difficult experience. Similarly, an attempt was made to attract younger and older candidates. The educator had to be older and more experienced than his charges, who for the most part, ranged from 17 to 20 years of age. On the other hand, he had to be young enough to withstand the rigors of the very demanding counselor-teacher role which required a full time schedule and an extremely high degree of adaptability. He also had to be energetic enough to cope with a difficult facility situation, maintain classroom order, participate in field trips and activities, and to make home visits and other field contacts. Within these limits, however, a range of nearly twenty years was sampled and the presence of teachers of widely differing age groups helped to present a wider variety of role models for the trainees. The distribution of educators as to sex and age is detailed below.

TABLE 4-57: SEX OF LIFE-SKILLS EDUCATORS

Sex	N	Percent
Male	31	77.5%
Female	9	22.5%
	40	100.0%

TABLE 4-58: AGE OF LIFE-SKILLS EDUCATORS

Age In Years	N	Percent
24 - 26	9	22.5%
27 - 29	6	15.0%
30 - 32	5	12.5%
33 - 35	12	30.0%
36 - 38	3	7.5%
39 - 41	4	10.0%
42 - 44	1	2.5%
	40	100.0%

As can be seen in the above Table 4-57, the range of ages was wide, actually from 24 to 42 years. The average age was 31.8 years and sixty percent of the educators were between the ages of 27 and 35. The majority of the teachers were thus old enough to be perceived as more experienced than the trainees and yet young enough to avoid generation gap problems as far as communication was concerned.

Similarly, more than half of the educators were married, providing the trainees with role identification models of husbands and fathers as well as adequate adult examples of the single man and the single and married woman.

The following Table 4-58 depicts the marital status of the Life-Skills Educators.

TABLE 4-59: MARITAL STATUS OF LIFE-SKILLS EDUCATORS

Status	N (Male)	Percent (Male)	N (Female)	Percent (Female)	N (Total)	Percent (Total)
Single	12	38.7%	4	44.4%	16	40.0%
Married	18	58.0%	5	55.6%	23	57.5%
Divorced	1	3.3%	-	--	1	2.5%
Separated	--	--	-	--	--	--
Widowed	--	--	-	--	--	--
	31	100.0%	9	100.0%	40	100.0%

Education

The educational level of Life-Skills Instructors ranged from high school completion to three years of post college, graduate study. Eighty-five percent of the Life-Skills Educators completed four year college programs and fifty percent completed one or more years of graduate study. Six educators were chosen because they showed talent and promise and had not completed college programs. The purpose was to include in the teaching ranks representatives of a large reservoir of untapped manpower for service in the training programs for the disadvantaged and to explore the possibilities of grooming them, on-the-job, for professional level roles. Table 4-59 shows the distribution of educational attainment.

TABLE 4-60: YEARS OF EDUCATION OF LIFE-SKILLS EDUCATORS

Years Of Education	N	Percent
High School Only	2	5%
Some College	4	10%
College Degree	14	35%
Graduate Study - 1 Year	10	25%
" " - 2 Years	6	15%
" " - 3 Years	4	10%
	40	100%

The type of college varied considerably, representing an interesting blend of experiences for the staff.

TABLE 4-61: TYPE OF FOUR YEAR COLLEGE ATTENDED

Type Of College	N	Percent
Predominantly Negro College	12	30.0%
NYC Located College or Univ.	11	27.5%
Small Non-NYC College or Univ.	9	22.5%
Large " " " " "	4	10.0%
Did not attend a 4 year College	4	10.0%
	40	100.0%

Choice of major subject in college also varied widely, by design; but the number of trained teachers was somewhat less than planned or desired and there were a few too many social science majors who had no teacher training or experience whatever. It proved impossible to groom these inexperienced people adequately within the limits of time and resources for teacher training and supervision. All things considered, however, three-quarters of the educators had a college background that was highly relevant to at least one major area or aspect of the Life-Skills program. With a well conceived and thoroughly executed training experience their array of skills could have been expanded greatly. Ten educators had earned Master's Degrees before joining TRY, but only six of these programs were directly relevant to the Life-Skills Educator's tasks and of these, only two were education degrees, representing advancement in teaching skills. Tables 4-61 and 4-62 present the data for college major and master's degree programs, respectively.

TABLE 4-62: MAJOR COLLEGE SUBJECT OF LIFE-SKILLS EDUCATORS

Major Subject	N	Percent
History, Government, Political Science	12	30.0%
Psychology, Sociology, Other Social Science	9	22.5%
Education	6	15.0%
Philosophy, Religion, English	5	12.5%
Business, Technical Subjects, Other	5	12.5%
No College Major Subject	3	7.5%
	40	100.0%

TABLE 4-63: MASTER'S DEGREE SUBJECT AREA OF LIFE-SKILLS EDUCATORS

Subject Area	N	Percent
Psychology, Counseling	2	5.0%
Social Work	1	2.5%
Education	2	5.0%
Other Social Sciences	2	5.0%
Recreation	1	2.5%
Other Non-related Areas	2	5.0%
No Master's Degree	30	75.0%
	40	100.0%

A Study Of Life-Skills Educator Effectiveness

A preliminary method for assessing the effectiveness of the Life-Skills Educator was devised for inclusion in this report. Eight raters were asked to group the 40 Life-Skills Educators into three equal sized groups: the most effective, least effective and those intermediate in effectiveness, in terms of teaching skills, counseling effectiveness and personal qualities. The raters included the Life-Skills Educators' Supervisors, the Departmental Administrators and two Curriculum Specialists who served as consultants to the Educators.

The evaluation was based on statements designed to tap the dimensions considered relevant to the complex role of the Life-Skills Educator as teacher and counselor. The statements were:

1. Follows up consistently on trainee's needs.
2. Accepted as adequate adult role model by trainees.
3. Effective basic skills instructor.
4. Makes use of teaching through experience technique.
5. Creative use of educational materials.
6. Encourages respect for the TRY program's objectives.
7. Supportive of research efforts.
8. Exhibits genuine and realistic regard for his trainees as learners.

The ratings were pooled to determine the three groups. There was high consistency among the raters. Statistical and anecdotal differences between the most effective and least effective groups are described below along with some of the implications of these findings.

Statistical Differences

The two groups, most effective and least effective, were compared across several basic characteristics, such as; age, marital status, years of education, place of birth and high school education, type of college attended, college major, and the nature of the three successive positions held prior to joining the TRY staff. In general, differences were small and insignificant and there were some very surprising instances where expected differences did not materialize at all. Since the number of Educators was small in many categories, some of the obtained differences are of doubtful value, though they do suggest points for further inquiry. Furthermore, some of the characteristics for which statistics were gathered were, of course, part of the framework used by the raters in evaluating the Educators, so the two sets of data are in no real sense, independent. Nevertheless, the differences are suggestive, pointing to a need to reevaluate some of our current assumptions concerning teacher selection.

The average age of the most effective group of Life-Skills Educators was 33.3 years, two years older than that of the least effective group. A more important distinction, however, is that the majority (75%) of the most effective Educators were 34 years of age or older whereas only 25% of the least effective Educators were this mature. Sex difference are also noteworthy. Of the ten most effective Educators, one was a woman; while three of the 12 least effective were female.

Of the most effective group 80% were married as opposed to only 50% for the least effective group.

There were no significant differences between the two groups in the overall number of years of education and work experience. The breakout of the educational data is both more revealing and more inconclusive, however. One of the most effective, and one of the least effective Educators had no college education at all. Of the three who had one or two years of college training, one was among the most effective and two were among the least effective teachers. At the other end of the continuum, two of the most, and two of the least effective Educators account for the four master's degrees held; all of them in specialties related to important aspects of the Educator's role. Sixty percent of the most effective group had one or more years of graduate training; while only 17% of the least effective group had this much training.

Apparently, our findings lend some minimal support for traditional reliance upon the amount of college level training as the basis for teacher selection in this type of instructional setting. Unhappily, our experiences do not encourage current hopes for meeting the need for teachers for the disadvantaged student by drawing directly from the ranks of the high school educated, indigenous worker, but other options to be discussed in Chapter Five may offer some possibilities for mining this talent field more effectively.

The type of college attended made no difference whatever, that is, a New York City college, a predominately Negro college, a large or small school outside New York City. The choice of college major was also not very important though 70% of the most effective Educators took programs related to their teaching role as opposed to 50% of the least effective group.

There were some indications that the geographical location of the teacher in his formative years made a difference between the two groups. Eighty percent of the most effective teachers were born in urban areas; while 67% of the least effective were born in large cities. More importantly, all 100% of the most effective teachers went to high school in an urban area as opposed to 75% of the least effective teachers.

Though overall averages of years of work experience do not differentiate between the two groups of teachers, there are some noteworthy differences between them as to how some of those years of employment were spent. With respect to the last position held before joining the TRY staff, 90% of the most effective, as opposed to 67% of the least effective Educators were employed in social service functions. More significantly, the majority of the most effective Educators (80%) were employed on the professional level in that position as compared to only half of the least effective teachers (50%). These relationships remain constant in the second and third positions prior to TRY employment, though the differences decrease markedly.

In summary, the most effective teacher shapes up to be a married male, in his mid-thirties, born and raised in a large urban area, with a college major closely related to teaching or counseling, with an understanding of the social dynamics of the student's situation, with one or more years of graduate study and several years of professional level experience in a social service setting, prior to joining the TRY Project. The least effective teacher also is a male, but is somewhat younger, less likely to be married, has completed little or no graduate study, and has had considerably less responsible experience in social service work before coming to TRY. In addition this person is also somewhat less likely to have those necessary special competencies arising from continued successful interaction with the urban milieu during his formative years, the years through which TRY's trainees are struggling.

Global Impressions

Certain qualities stood out in the raters' minds, differentiating the effective from the ineffective Educators, and extending beyond the framework of the rating device described above. Whether trained as teachers or not, the most effective Educators tended to have a healthy respect for communicating a good deal of information in class, for careful and detailed lesson planning, for a controlled classroom procedure, for the use of audio-visual materials, for teaching through experience methods and for mastery of basic skills subjects. They were able to maintain considerable situational structure in difficult circumstances through a combination of personal qualities and techniques, the latter being the result of group-work training for most, but in a few cases seeming to arise naturally without formal training. The Life-Skills Educators rated most effective were stable and mature people,(able to communicate to the trainees sincere interest in them), confidence and competence. They were not vulnerable to the bullying and harassment with which some trainees would try to gain the upper hand. They could deal with these tensions effectively without submission or overreaction. Though their plans and methods were structured, they were personally flexible in carrying them out, adjusting and changing them to suit changing needs and opportunities. Similarly, they were emotionally secure and flexible in dealing with the apathy, hostility and confusion that so often characterizes the classroom behavior of disadvantaged learners. As counselors they were sensitive to the trainee's needs as a whole person, not just as a student. Most importantly, they followed up on commitments they made to the trainees and expected their charges to meet the commitments they had made. They would keep after their students on the matter of class attendance, sometimes telephoning homes to rouse late sleepers or to check on illnesses. They were conscientious and fair as to attendance and payroll records for their trainees, seeing to it that they received exactly what was coming to them, no more, no less.

On the other hand, the least effective Educators were less stable persons, more frequently late or absent; often timid or overly-harsh in dealing with the trainees of whom they were afraid. They tended to be manipulated by the trainees as far as the payroll and attendance were concerned. Their record-keeping was poor and their trainees less often received exactly what was due to them. Lesson planning tended to be inadequate or non-existent and there was excessive utilization of group -discussion without tying the discussion to a total learning experience. They tended not to employ structured lessons, field trips related to Life-Skills Education objectives, audio-visual aids, and class projects. Because the trainees resisted instruction in basic skills subjects, the least effective Educators tended to minimize them and to devote less time or effort to these subjects. They frequently failed to follow up on promises made to trainees for help in getting welfare, medical, or other services. Trainees perceived their aloofness, uncertainty and lack of commitment as a rejection and tended not to relate to them or confide in them. These teachers often had considerable trouble controlling their classes with respect to such anti-social behavior as fighting and unruly conduct. Many of their students became deeply involved in the alcohol and drug problems within the Project. Many of these teachers also found it difficult to support the overall objectives of the Project and the research efforts, often disparaging them in front of the trainees.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

A. Overview of the Report
B. Results of the Demonstration
C. Research Findings
D. Recommendations

A. OVERVIEW OF THE REPORT

Objectives Of The TRY Project

Training Resources for Youth, Inc., was formed as an independent membership corporation under the laws of New York State, to conduct a demonstration training center for out-of-school, out-of-work or under-employed male youth aged 17-21. The basic goals of the Project were two-fold:

(1) To provide a demonstration comprehensive educational environment in which youth from the "culture of poverty" could learn the necessary vocational, personal, and social skills which are essential for living effectively in the "culture of achievement."

(2) To develop sound methods and techniques for producing positive changes in the attitudes and behaviors of deprived youth. These were to include new approaches to counseling, more appropriate tests, a new Life-Skills Education curriculum, a comprehensive approach to vocational training, intensive recruitment and placement procedures, and new roles for professionals and subprofessionals.

These goals required the establishment of a demonstration training center large enough to justify the diversity of training programs proposed and adequate personnel to carry out and the developmental and research functions.

The TRY Project Demonstration Program

The Training Resources for Youth project was established July 1, 1966 as a demonstration, research and development program to work with disadvantaged male youth ages 17-21 in the Bedford-Stuyvesant section of Brooklyn, one of the largest Negro communities in the United States. The initial program was designed to serve 600 youth on a full time basis for an average training period of 12 months, but with a possible range of from 9 to 18 months depending on the rate of progress of the trainee.

The demonstration program design was comprehensive and provided a complete bridge of services. It sought to carefully integrate vocational training for skilled jobs in one of six occupational areas with Life-Skills education and counseling, basic skills development, work experience, physical education and recreation. In addition to the training program, a number of services were provided to trainees. They included health, legal and social services to aid the trainee in dealing with his problems outside as well as within the project.

A complete bridge of services was created by which disadvantaged youth could move from the street corner to a permanent place in the mainstream of our society. This bridge was composed of an intensive outreach and recruitment service to find and inform youth about the program, the training program itself, and a placement and follow-through service. Thus, the full accountability for results and the opportunity to vary treatments resided in the project.

Research: An Attempt To Integrate Development And Evaluation

Meaningful evaluation only occurs when the objectives of developmental efforts are known in advance and instruments to measure change are designed to fit the situation. To facilitate the accomplishment of this goal, the development and evaluation functions were placed under one director in the TRY organization.

The research at Project TRY can best be described as action research which was primarily directed at facilitating and improving program operations in this experimental and demonstration training project. Due to the innovative and complex design of the project, this research was exploratory in nature and multivariate in design. The research design focused on the measurement of changes in the trainees which could be ascribed to the program, as a basis for new insights and educational innovation aimed toward re-orientating programs for disadvantaged youth. Therefore, entry, exit and followup data on each trainee were extremely important.

The major development efforts at TRY during the first year were the creation of instruments to collect data and the development of the Life-Skills curriculum together with the resources necessary to implement it.

The Demonstration-Research Phase At Project TRY

The Demonstration-Research Phase of the TRY project was planned from the beginning to be a three-to-five year effort once an operational level was achieved. The first trainees entered the program in December of 1966, but significant numbers did not enter the project until the renovation of the training facility was completed in June, 1967.

The first year demonstration goals were to:

1. Recruit, select, and train a staff of over 200 for the project.
2. Plan and complete a $500,000 renovation of the 100,000 square foot training facility.
3. Set up a temporary training facility for up to 250 trainees while the permanent facility was being prepared.
4. Select, purchase and install over $500,000 worth of equipment and furnishings.
5. Recruit, select and enroll 600 trainees.
6. Work out and institute all management and program operating procedures.
7. Develop, institute and supervise two major subcontracts for vocational training the Philco Ford Co. and the Brass Rail Restaurants Division of Interstate United Corp.
8. Develop job placement opportunities for graduates.

The Research and Development goals for the first year were to:

1. Develop and institute an intake data and entry testing program.

2. Set up computer programs to summarize intake data.
3. Set up basic program record-keeping system.
4. Plan and set up Curriculum Materials Center.
5. Complete basic Content-Centered Life-Skills syllabus.
6. Develop several multimedia kits for use with Content-Centered syllabus.
7. Develop and test out several Experience-Centered Life-Skills curriculum units.
8. Set up and test a pilot program data feedback system.
9. Set up exit interview and testing procedure for trainees leaving the project.
10. Design first complete data analysis.

Practically all the demonstration goals and most of the research and development goals were accomplished by September 30, 1967. However, the variety of pressures both inside and outside the project, discussed in Chapter Three, greatly reduced the capability of the Project to move into its second year research development goals. During the Fall, 1967, in spite of dragging federal contract negotiations and the pressures noted, the project continued to make progress toward its first year goals, particularly in terms of developing a viable Program Data Feedback System.

In late December, 1967, due to massive federal cutbacks in demonstration and research funds, the demonstration and research aspects of the TRY Project were terminated before the first graduates left the program. Fortunately, the training aspects of the program were continued and it was possible for the trainees to complete the vocational programs they had begun.

One provision of the termination agreement made it possible to collect outcome data on graduates from the demonstration-research phase of the project and to include that information in this final report. The research-demonstration phase of the TRY Project, therefore, covered the period from December, 1966, when the first trainees entered the project, to December, 1967. In addition, outcome data was gathered on all trainees, the last of which completed training in June, 1968. Also, a followup study was conducted by the Project in August, 1968, and that data constitutes the latest information processed for this report.

B. RESULTS OF THE TRY DEMONSTRATION

Introduction

This section attempts to summarize the major outcomes of the project in terms of its first year service - demonstration and development goals. These outcomes fall in four broad classes and will be presented in this order: (1) Results with the trainees who participated in the training program, (2) Educational Process Models, (3) Staff Role Models and (4) Systems and Operating Procedures for Program, Research, and Overall Project Management.

RESULTS WITH TRAINEES

A Representative Sample of Unemployed High School Dropouts Are Recruited

The Research Design for the TRY project called for the recruitment of 600 male youth between the ages of 17-21, representative of the total population of high school dropouts in the Bedford-Stuyvesant section of Brooklyn. A total of 708 youth were recruited; 625 began training, and 544 completed the enrollment process and received training allowances for some period of time.

Guidelines were established on five variables to help insure a representative sampling. The variables were age, where we attempted to recruit 20% in each age group from 17-21; school completion, where we attempted to have more than 80% be high school dropouts; ethnic background, where the goal was for 70% or more to be Negro, 15% or more Puerto Rican, and 15% or less Caucasian; reading level, where the goal was to have a normal distribution with a mean at the sixth grade level and a standard deviation of two grade levels; and finally, probation parole status, where the attempt was to have less than 25% actively under the supervision of probation and parole authorities. The actual population adequately met the sample objectives. The complete background data on the TRY trainee population is found in Section B of Chapter Four.

Disadvantaged Youth Are Trained

Of the 544 trainees who were enrolled in the TRY project the results show that 48% graduated, 45% dropped out, or were discharged and 7% moved or had non-program related reasons for leaving the project.

These results are low in comparison with Manpower Development and Training programs on a national basis. The national figures on such programs for the period 1962 to 1967 show that of a total enrollment of 600,000 some 361,000, or 60% graduated. On the other hand, TRY graduation statistics are higher than those of some of the better Job Corps operations which graduate only about one-third of those who enroll. A review of information on those variables where comparison is possible shows that the TRY population is much more similar to the Job Corps population than it is to the MDTA population, the latter tending to be older and to have had much more work experience.

Trained Graduates Are Placed

A followup study of TRY graduates shows that 70% were placed. Concerning the other 30% we have no information as to outcome. By means of a mailed questionnaire, we attempted to communicate with all graduates for whom we had no information. Half the group that responded, had found its own employment. If a more conservative ratio of self-placement is assumed (say one-third), then as many as 80% of the TRY graduates may be considered to have been placed.

Perhaps of greater importance than actual placement statistics is the type of placement achieved by this predominately high school dropout population as a result of 7 months of training. Our results show that 12% went to college, 76% were placed in training-related jobs, 7% went to the armed forces, 4% were placed in non-training-related jobs, and 1% went on to other training programs. The placement outcomes on the whole, therefore, appear to be highly relevant.

Placed Graduates Breakout Of The Cycle Of Poverty

A study of the starting weekly pay of TRY graduates shows that 75% of them start at $75 or better, and that the top 25% started at $90 a week or better. The trade training areas with the highest average starting pay were electrical appliance repair and office machine repair. The lowest average starting pay was for graduates trained in auto mechanics. The average starting pay of food service graduates also was below the mean for all graduates, but does not reflect the value of free meals which are usually provided as part of the job. The average starting pay in auto mechanics and food service was slightly above $75 per week. The mean starting pay for all placed graduates was $82 per week, or $4,264 per year.

Placed Graduates Stay Employed

A followup study conducted approximately four months after graduates left the program showdd that 70% had remained employed and that 20% had quit their jobs, while another 10% had been fired. This high rate of continuing employment seems to be largely a function of the quality of placement opportunities generated by the Job Development staff'and the cooperation of the industries involved in providing the vocational training.

EDUCATION PROCESS MODELS

Life-Skills Education Model

As the name implies, Life-Skills Education is a broad based educational model to prepare young people for living effectively in the rapidly changing, complex world of urban, industrial America. The overall aim of the program is to prepare the whole man for future roles as continuing learner, worker, husband, father and citizen. One of the chief goals is to provide relevant information and experience to acquire the personal and social skills necessary to get, hold and advance in jobs. Life-Skills Education seeks to attack directly what Harrington (1962) calls the internal "culture of poverty" within each deprived youth. It does so by providing, through a series of carefully designed experiences, the basic integrated knowledge, understanding and skills essential for living effectively in the "culture of achievement." Basic assumptions are that a sense of self-worth, which is all important for continued growth, derives mainly from repeated experiences of one's self as competent; and that people are most likely to engage in responsible self-direction when they can perceive, confront, test, and evaluate a variety of healthy alternative choices.

The main purpose of Life-Skills Education, as conceived for the TRY Project, is to provide disadvantaged adolescents with the understandings and concrete skills they need to handle their life responsibilities more effectively. The initial focus, therefore, is upon the Areas of Life Responsibility, and it is these that define the curriculum subject areas, rather than the more traditional subject groupings such as reading, economics or math (for a similar approach see Stratemeyer, et al., 1957). Basic to this design is the assumption that although there is a continuing interrelationship between general knowledge and particular knowledge, the student learns more effectively if he starts with the particular and moves toward the general. Thus it is essentially an inductive model. Such a "filter-up" theory assumes that concrete skills in successfully handling specific problems in living will generate a curiosity in the student for further knowledge and a competence for mastering more complex life situations.

Perhaps the major advantage of Life-Skills Education is that, in addition to combining the traditional subject disciplines, it will integrate the functions of teaching and counseling and thereby promote a unity of "intellectual" and "emotional" understanding. As indicated in the theoretical discussion at the beginning of the proposal, Life-Skills Education assumes that a belief, no matter how emotionally laden, is cognitively based and therefore can be cognitively changed. It also assumes that a person changes his own beliefs by internalizing new knowledge through a process of self-questioning, searching, trying, and adjusting his thinking and behavior by utilizing feedback about the consequences of his beliefs, thoughts, and actions.

Since peer group relationships are of utmost importance during adolescence, the small group will be used to advantage as the basic unit for Life-Skills Education. Group sessions will be followed by individual counseling sessions with each trainee. With a relatively small student-teacher ratio, with a Life Responsibility-centered curriculum, and with a series of implementing action projects, the Life-Skills Education unit will be in an excellent position to bring about the kinds of learning within each youth that his previous school could not provide.

In order to insure that sufficient attention is given to the growth of each trainee, the Life-Skills classes will be followed by weekly group and individual counseling sessions, with additional sessions as needed. The functions of counseling are to give the trainee support and personal attention, to help him incorporate what he has been learning into his own life style, to trouble-shoot problems as they arise, to inform him on his progress, and to help him set new weekly goals for himself.

The Life-Skills Education model is described in detail in the TRY Proposal (Adkins, Rosenberg and Sharar, 1965) and in Chapters Two and Three of this report. In summary, this educational model attempts to reintegrate the domains of knowledge which are fragmented in the usual school setting, and to link together the cognitive and emotive aspects of a person's experience. Within the short span of the demonstration-research phase of the project, it would not be fair to say that this model was adequately tested. However, we believe that this educational model together with the curriculum development model and the Life-Skills Educator role model, to be discussed shortly, constitutes a major result of Project TRY, and deserves to be tested in other settings.

The Inductive Experience-Centered Curriculum Development Model

The Inductive Curriculum Model is described in Chapter Three and in the Life-Skills Curriculum Manual. Essentially, it calls for building up a curriculum from the point of view of the learner, and for focusing on the process of learning through planned experiences.

Such a model can be most advantageously established within a framework identified by the major areas of life responsibility rather than by traditional subject matter areas. The five areas of life responsibility defined in the TRY model are: (1) developing and maintaining the self, (2) managing a career, (3) managing home and family responsibilities, (4) participating effectively in the community and (5) using leisure time productively.

The stages of Inductive Model are: (1) the evocative stage, (2) the problem-defining, information-gathering and solution-building stage, (3) the action testing stage, and (4) the analysis of results stage.

This inductive experience-centered curriculum development model represents a functional expression of two basic goals of the TRY project which are to encourage the evolution of self-worth through the development of competence, and of self-direction through the perception, testing and evalution of alternative solutions to life problems. As a model for curriculum development in other settings, it is a useful product of the TRY project.

The Vocational Training, Career Exploration Model

A model for vocational training which incorporates opportunities for the exploration and the testing out of career possibilities was a part of the overall educational model of the TRY project. It is described most completely in Chapter Four of the TRY Proposal. Its goals are: (1) To help disadvantaged youth see and understand the wide range of career opportunities open to them, (2) To provide an opportunity to understand and reflect upon one's own abilities, interests and other characteristics in terms of career possibilities,

(3) To allow as wide a range of choice of training as possible, and wherever possible to allow shifts in programs as interests change, (4) To provide a work experience program parallel with the training so that diversity of work roles within each industry could be sampled and so that the trainee could have early and realistic opportunities to practice his newly acquired occupational skills, and (5) To provide opportunities for specialization in the areas of greatest interest to the trainee.

Not all of these goals were achieved but enough of them were tested out to strongly suggest that this overall approach is highly relevant to disadvantaged youth. Accordingly, this model is also presented as a product of the TRY project which can be useful in other settings.

STAFF ROLE MODELS

The Life-Skills Educator Role Model

The implementation of the TRY comprehensive educational model called for a new combination of action-oriented teaching and counseling functions in one person, the Life-Skills Educator. In order to insure that the educational design actually integrated the cognitive and affective aspects of life, the job description of the Life-Skills Educator was written so that one-third of his time would be devoted to teaching, one-third to counseling, and one-third to planning and curriculum development. For the TRY trainees who were predominently Negro, the goal was to find Negro men who would be positive role models to the youth as well as effective teacher-counselors. A Program Data Feedback System was established to aid the Life-Skills Educator and the Development and Evaluation staff, integrate information about the trainees and the training and counseling processes in an on-going basis.

The Life-Skills Educator role model together with the process models reported above, provide the basic elements in the TRY comprehensive educational model for disadvantaged youth.

The Subprofessional Youth Advisor Role Model

Subprofessional role models were tested out in the TRY project in all four programmatic divisions. Although this type of role was not at all unique to the TRY project, the testout on a significant number of persons should be reported. The basic notions behind the subprofessional role were two-fold: (1) Persons with no college training and indigenous to the community should have an easy time communicating with trainees and (2) Local persons with potential for working in educational settings should be given an opportunity to test out their skills and those who proved capable should have an opportunity for advanced training leading to permanent professional jobs.

The TRY budget had provision for 30 Youth Advisors. During the first year more than 40 different persons were employed in these positions. By the end of the demonstration-research phase of the project, 10 had been promoted to permanent positions and approximately 6 had been dismissed for cause.

While the subprofessional role serves a useful purpose for the person occupying it, the supervision and training of such personnel in a large demonstration-research project with many developmental priorities, places an excessive burden on the staff. The utilization of subprofessionals, therefore, appears to be much more appropriate to permanent on-going organizations than to temporary research and development organizations.

SYSTEMS AND OPERATING PROCEDURES FOR PROGRAM, RESEARCH AND OVERALL PROJECT MANAGEMENT

Summary Of Developed Resources

The need for systems and operating procedures which have been tested out and which can be adapted to a variety of programs and locations is even more critical today than when the TRY project began operations in 1966. The TRY Project borrowed and adapted procedures from a number of sources and hopefully improved on them in the process. It also had to develop a number of systems for its own purpose. All of these systems and procedures are results of the TRY project. We are listing them here in the hope that some of them may help other projects avoid the time and expense inventing the same wheel all over again. Copies of all these materials are on file with the three funding sources: the U.S. Office of Education, the U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity and the U.S. Office of Manpower Planning, Evaluation and Research.

1. The Training Resources for Youth Proposal, 1965, A Comprehensive Educational Model for Disadvantaged Youth.

2. A Design for Action Research at Project TRY, 1967.
3. Life-Skills Education Curriculum Manual, 1967.
4. Mixed-Media Curriculum Resources Kit, 1967.
5. The Vocational Training Curriculum, 1967.
6. The Program Data Feedback System, 1967.
7. The TRY Financial Operating Procedures Manual, 1966.
8. The TRY Employee Handbook, 1967.
9. The TRY Trainee Handbook, 1967.
10. The TRY Youth Advisor Manual, 1967.
11. The Federal Inter-Agency Agreement on TRY.
12. The TRY Corporation Charter, By-Laws, and Commission to Committees.

C. RESEARCH FINDINGS

Introduction

The research findings from this one year exploratory study are primarily descriptive. They offer an in-depth picture of the TRY trainee population as a representative sample of unemployed, male, high school dropouts in the Bedford-Stuyvesant section of Brooklyn. They also offer a picture of the Life-Skills Education Staff.

The most important findings concern the possibility of being able to differentiate between several graduating groups and several potential dropout groups early enough in a training program so that differential educational strategies may be instituted to meet the specific needs of these groups.

This summary of findings will follow the same order as the presentation of the detailed information in Chapter Four to simplify the reference process.

Background Characteristics Of TRY Trainees

1. Age: 60% were 17 or 18 years of age, while 40% were 19, 20 or 21.

2. Education: 96% were high school dropouts.

3. Ethnic Background: 75% were Negro, 21% Puerto Rican, 4% Caucasian.

4. Reading Proficiency: 35% read at or below the 4th grade level, 48% between the 5th and the 8th grade level, and 17% read at the 9th grade level or higher.

5. Probation-Parole Status: 19% were under the active supervision of either the Probation or Parole Departments.

6. Birthplace: 61% were born in New York, 20% in the Deep South, 15% in Puerto Rico, and only 4% in all other areas combined.

7. Type of High School Course: 26% had attended Academic Programs, 30% Commercial or Vocational Programs, and 44% had attended General Diploma Programs.

8. Last Grade Completed: 57% completed 10 or less grades in school.

9. Years Out Of School: 48% had been out of school more than two years before entering TRY.

10. Reason For Leaving School: 32% just "dropped out at age 16", 15% hardship, each other category, 7% or less.

11. Marital Status: 87% single, 12% married, 1% divorced.

12. Dependents: The 126 trainees with dependents had a total of 268 dependents.

13. Primary Language: 96% spoke English as their primary language.

14. Draft Status: 40% of the eligible trainees were 1A; 32% were 1Y and 21% were 4F.

15. Address At Entry: 97% lived in Brooklyn.

16. Previous Project Experience: 25% had participated in some other project before coming to TRY.

17. Employment At Entry: 85% were unemployed at entry.

Psychological Test Data

1. Basic Skills: The average achievement in language and mathematical skills was approximately at the 6th grade level, with a standard deviation of about two grade levels.

2. General Learning Ability: 53% stand in the average range, 12% in the high range, and 34% in the low range.

3. Mechanical Comprehension: At entry, 85% stand at or below the average for industrial workers.

4. Measured Interests: Trainees as a group stand high on Business, Office Work, and Interpersonal Work Interests. They also tend to be clearly differentiated by interest in the vocational field in which they received training at TRY.

5. Personal and Social Adjustment: About two-thirds stand in the average range on the personal and social adjustment measure and one-third stand in the low range. Very few stand high on either adjustment scale.

Program Information

1. Months Of Training: The average trainee was at TRY approximately seven months.

2. Medical and Dental Evaluations: More than half the trainees were found to have a medical or dental problem.

3. Vocational Training Ratings: The average rating was three on a five-point scale. Some 30% of the trainees had ratings below the satisfactory progress level.

4. Weekly Training Allowances: The average Training allowance was about $50 per week.

5. Attendance: The average attendance percentage was approximately 70%.

6. High School Equivalency Diplomas: Approximately 15% earned High School Equivalency Diplomas while at TRY.

Characteristics Of Training And Placement Outcome Groups

The major characteristics which differentiate TRY graduates from TRY dropouts are:

1. SHORT TERM DROPOUTS ARE DISTINGUISHED FROM GRADUATES BY BEING BRIGHTER IN TERMS OF GENERAL LEARNING ABILITY, BUT BEING LESS PROFICIENT IN BASIC, CRUCIALLY IMPORTANT SKILLS SUCH AS READING, WORD KNOWLEDGE, SPELLING, LANGUAGE USAGE, AND ARITHMETICAL COMPUTATION. DIFFERENCES ARE SIGNIFICANT AT THE .05 LEVEL AND SUGGEST VARIATIONS IN

THE DESIGN OF THE TRAINING PROGRAM TO INCREASE ITS HOLDING POWER.

2. GRADUATES STAND ABOUT ONE-THIRD OF A STANDARD DEVIATION ABOVE BOTH DROPOUT GROUPS ON ALL THREE SCALES OF THE CALIFORNIA TEST OF PERSONALITY. TABLE 4-44 SHOWS THAT ONLY ONE-FOURTH OF THE GRADUATES SCORE IN THE LOW RANGE ON THE PERSONAL ADJUSTMENTS SCALE WHILE ONE-THIRD OF SHORT TERM DROPOUTS AND NEARLY HALF THE LONG TERM DROPOUTS SCORE LOW. ON THE SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT SCALE ONLY ONE-THIRD OF THE GRADUATES ARE LOW WHILE HALF OF BOTH DROPOUT GROUPS ARE LOW.

3. INTEREST TEST RESULTS DIFFERENTIATE SOMEWHAT BETWEEN PLACED GRADUATES, GRADUATES IN GENERAL, AND DROPOUTS IN EACH TRADE AREA EXCEPT AUTO MECHANICS.

4. THE AVERAGE VOCATIONAL TRAINING RATING IS THE MOST EFFECTIVE, THE MOST SENSITIVE AND THE EARLIEST INDEX OF SUCCESS IN TRAINING. The rating is an intra-vocational class rating ranging on a scale from 0 to 5 given weekly by the instructor to each of his 15 trainees. A cut-off value of 2.8 on the scale identifies 60% of the dropouts and includes only 14% of the graduates, thus the counseling effort of an organization can be focused on a group in need of prompt assistance.

5. DIRECTIONALITY OF VOCATIONAL TRAINING RATING ADDS TO THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE VOCATIONAL TRAINING RATING AS AN INDEX OF SUCCESS IN TRAINING. Less than 21% of the graduates show a decline in directionality during their last third of their total time in the program while 53% of the dropouts show such a decline.

Important factors which did not differentiate between graduates and dropouts were (1) Background characteristics, (2) The Bennett Mechanical Comprehension Test, (3) Medical and Dental Evaluations and (4) Attendance.

Substance Users

A small scale analysis of the data on substance users identified at the TRY project was conducted. Results suggest that they are more likely to: be married, have dependents, be older, be rated as having medical problems other than substance use, have a better attendance average, have a higher training allowance, and stay longer in the project. The majority of them appear to fall in the "two worlder" category discussed on page 4-74.

Results Of The Correlation Analysis

A SUMMARY OF THE SIGNIFICANT RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE SELECTED VARIABLES AND SUCCESS IN TRAINING AND SUCCESS IN PLACEMENT SUGGESTS THAT IT IS EXTREMELY DIFFICULT TO DIFFERENTIATE BETWEEN GRADUATES AND DROPOUTS ON THE BASIS OF DATA AVAILABLE BEFORE ENTRY INTO THE PROGRAM. IN LIGHT OF RESULTS PRESENTED IN SECTION B OF THIS CHAPTER WHICH SHOW THAT A SIGNIFICANT PERCENT OF PROJECT GRADUATES BREAK OUT OF THE CYCLE OF POVERTY, IT APPEARS ESSENTIAL TO KEEP THE OPPORTUNITY FOR TRAINING OPEN TO ALL UNEMPLOYED OUT-OF-SCHOOL DISADVANTAGED YOUTH WHO DESIRE TRAINING AND WHO ARE NOT SO FUNCTIONALLY DISABLED AS TO BE UNABLE TO PARTICIPATE IN SUCH TRAINING PROGRAMS.

The Instructional Staff

In a separate study, the Life-Skills Education Staff was described, and the more effective instructors were contrasted with the less effective instructors. The most effective instructor could be characterized as a married male, in his mid-thirties, born and raised in a large urban area, with a college major closely related to teaching or counseling, with some graduate study and professional level experience prior to joining project TRY. Furthermore, he tends to be a person who communicates effectively, is sensitive to the dynamics of his trainees situations, makes fair decisions, and plans his work more than a day or two in advance.

D. RECOMMENDATIONS

Introduction

The recommendations growing out of the demonstration-research phase of the TRY project will be presented in two sections. The first will deal with recommendations based on the exploratory research carried out during the truncated demonstration-research phase of the project, and the second will deal with the planning and operation of demonstration-research projects focused on disadvantaged youth.

RECOMMENDATIONS GROWING OUT OF THE RESEARCH AT PROJECT TRY

Recommendations Concerning The Use Of The Overall TRY Design

The research carried out during the first program year at TRY shows that the overall project design is a rich and useful field in which educational approaches for disadvantaged youth and training of instructional personnel may be explored through testing and evaluation techniques. The design deserves to be replicated in other, more permanent settings such as schools or established research institutes.

Recommendations For Differential Educational And Counseling Strategies

The research findings summarized in Section C and detailed in Section F of Chapter Four suggest the possibility of differentiating a significant proportion of each of four outcome groups rather early in a training cycle.

If, on the basis of such information, the training program can vary its educational strategies and tactics to deal with the unique characteristics of each group, then it is likely that each group will learn more effectively, a higher percentage will graduate, and that the curriculum, materials and staff training techniques will be of considerable use in similar programs and in schools which serve the disadvantaged. It is the opinion of the authors that the development and testing of differential educational strategies is a highly useful and valuable avenue of exploration from both the short and the long range point of view.

How might such an approach work? The first step is to identify groups with significantly different characteristics and then to specify how differences in characteristics may lead logically to differential educational strategies which take account of the group differences.

From this exploratory study at TRY we have identified several groups which should be common to a large number of projects. They are the potential short term dropouts, long term dropouts, training-related job-bound, and college-bound.

The most urgent planning needs to be done for the short term dropouts, because this group leaves the project before completing 20 days attendance. The major characteristics of this group are: (1) they tend to stand above the average on non-verbal intelligence measures, but below the average in basic learning skills such as reading, language and computation ability, (2) they tend to stand in the low range on personal, social and total adjustment and significantly below the mean for graduates, (3) they are more likely to be married and have dependents, (4) they are more likely to be 4F and not subject to the draft, (5) they are less likely to have had previous project experience, and those who did were likely to be just registrants for job placement and not active participants in an ongoing training program.

Speculation as to some of the reasons for short term participation in the project produces a number of possibilities which fall into two broad categories which we have labeled circumstantial and psychological. The circumstantial reasons are numerous: lateness in receiving checks or inadequate allowances for family men, not liking the Life-Skills or Vocational Education instructor, immediate job possibilities, etc. The psychological reasons center around two notions which by no means are mutually exclusive and may well be highly interactive. The first is the notion of resistance to a more regularized life style which a full time training program tends to impose. The second, is the possibility that a substantial portion of the potential short term dropouts may recognize that overall they are abler than most of the trainees, but that at the same time they are less able to compete in reading and mathematical skills with these other trainees. Therefore, they elect to leave the project to return to the street where conditions are more in their favor and where their limitations are not exposed.

Since one of every five disadvantage youth applying for MDTA, Job Corps, or other job training programs may fall in this group, it is useful to consider educational strategies for this group. The following steps are recommended.

First, identify that group of trainees which stands above the mean of the entire trainee population on a non-verbal intelligence measure and below the mean on measures of learning skills and of personal and social adjustment, before the training cycle begins. This can be achieved through a three to four hour testing program at the time of registration, but will require arrangements for rapid test scoring and data summarization so that the guidelines can be defined and the group identified.

Second, provide this group with a training program which emphasizes a simulated work experience and produces an early recognition of the person's own competence. Instructors should be trained to use demonstration as their primary instructional tool and assist trainees to gain mastery of operational skills; that is, to learn by doing.

Third, de-emphasize basic learning skills training for the first several months. Once basic skills training is introduced, stress a programmed instructional approach closely tied to the job training situation.

Fourth, plan to have at least weekly individual counseling contacts with each member of this group during the first six weeks he is in the program. The counseling approach should be supportive and focus on helping the trainee deal with the new learning environment, the key staff, and trainees with whom he is most closely associated. The overall objective should be to strengthen the feeling within the trainee, that he can learn functional skills quickly, that the training program is interested in him as a person, and that he has a number of important one-to-one relationships within the training program. On this foundation, and in a group that shares a common learning problem, it should be possible to gradually work at the sensitive problem of building basic skills in reading and mathematics.

At the other extreme from the potential short term dropouts is the potential college-bound group. Our study shows that at least one of every ten trainees has this potential, but that only a third to a half of this group actually decides on this goal and achieve it. This is not to say that all high potential trainees should want to go to college, or should be pushed to do so. It does suggest that a separate educational program be set up for those trainees who wish to qualify for college and who also wish to learn an occupational skill to help support their educational effort. The occupational skills with planning, may also be related to their educational program. The focus of this educational strategy from the beginning is on the improvement of basic skills and on preparing for the High School Equivalency Diploma Examination. Counseling is also important to this group as a means of working out and verifying the reality of the arrangements that are being made and the progress being made toward them. Another important part of this strategy is a linking relationship with colleges through field trips and work-study tutorial arrangements so that trainees can see what college life and work is like. The TRY experience also suggests that while it is necessary to set up a special group for this college preparation program, that other trainees who want their High School Equivalency Diploma should also be able to attend, and that transfers between programs be as flexible as possible.

The third group, the potential long term dropouts, also appear to have some rather unique characteristics which suggest a modified educational strategy. They tend to stand below the average of the entire population on all the test data. A large percentage of them also have vocational training ratings more than half a standard deviation below the mean for the whole population. The large majority of this group comprise the slow learners which the TRY Proposal suggested needed longer training to master the skills necessary for advanced jobs. They also tend to be more passive persons and to be more dependent upon their relations with staff members. The point was made particularly clear when the research funding was cut in late December of 1967, and TRY was forced to cut its instructional staff in half and to virtually do away with the counseling and followup program. During the next two months the number of long term dropouts jumped from35 to 133. The largest proportion of these dropouts were from groups whose instructors had been retrenched.

For purposes of discussing educational strategy let us assume there was no cut-back in funds and that a majority of the TRY long term dropouts graduated. The educational strategy for potential long term dropouts would need to deal with the problems of passivity and dependence. This group would appear to need regular and continuing experience in actively testing alternative solutions to problems and evaluating the consequences. The counseling approach would also need to help trainees set goals for themselves and regularly review progress. Field trips would be particularly important to this group so they could build confidence in their ability to go to different parts of the city and know how to act in a variety of job situations. Short term work experiences prior to graduation also should be of considerable assistance. The Placement Counselor and Follow-Up Staff should begin working with this group before graduation to build relationships and to help the trainee feel confident in the proposed job situation.

The final and largest group is composed of those who are bound for a training-related job. The rather unique constellation of characteristics of this group shows them to stand above the average of the total population on all the test categories including the interest inventory results within their own selected occupational training area.

The training-related job-bound group tends to know what it likes and what it wants. They are "result oriented" in terms of themselves and in terms of what they expect from the program and the instructors. A significant number of them want to spend most, if not all, of their time in trade training.

The educational strategy for this group, like that proposed for potential short term dropouts, needs to be action-oriented, with basic skills training related to work functions. Supportive and goal-setting counseling combined with field trips should help broaden the sense of opportunity within the chosen field for each trainee. The possibilities of setting up one's own business should be presented to this group along with opportunities for more advanced training in their chosen field. The opportunity to prepare for the High School Equivalency Examinations should also be provided and a part of this preparation could very well cover the areas of Life-Skills presented in Chapter Two of this report.

In conclusion, we wish to emphasize that the proposed differential educational strategies all fit within the general educational strategy proposed originally. The operational experience of the project, we feel, reaffirms the basic educational and psychological principles on which the project was founded. This research study shows that educational approaches can be designed and implemented with more refined applicability to sub-groups within the total dropout population. It is recognized that the predictors suggested in this study need to be validated in other settings and that a wide range of other factors need to be considered. However, we believe that the identification of differentiated groups within the total dropout population, together with proposed educational strategies to deal with their major presenting problems, can be extremely useful in a variety of educational and job training situations.

We hasten to add that there is great value in keeping all of these groups under one roof rather than splitting them up. It seems very likely that an attitude of flexibility and a feeling for alternative solutions to problems is best fostered within a comprehensive educational setting. When it is split up, both the trainees and the staff tend to lose touch with these very essential qualities. In our opinion, the best educational strategy for disadvantaged youth is both comprehensive and functionally differentiated.

Recommendations Growing Out Of The Diversity In Learning Ability And Measured Interests

One of the most striking findings in this data is that more than 12% of this high school dropout population has the basic capacity to handle college work, and that more than 40% of the total group scores above the average of the general population. Perhaps even more important is the fact that fully two-thirds of this dropout population fall in the normal, above normal or high classifications of learning ability. This is a powerful verification of the position taken by a number of professional persons, but generally not accepted by the average layman, that there is as much diversity of talent and ability among disadvantaged youth who have dropped out of school as there is in the total population. An important corollary is that training programs for this group must provide a diversity of educational opportunities equal to the diversity in the population they seek to serve.

With regard to the dimensions of training opportunities there are at least two major considerations which should be incorporated into the overall design: individual ability and program diversity. In reference to individual ability, ten to fifteen percent of the TRY trainees appeared to have the potential to handle college work and approximately half of this group (27) completed the necessary preparation, passed the High School Equivalency Examination, and were admitted to community college and four-year institutions of higher education in New York City. Through special tutoring and careful coordination 17 out of 20 who applied were admitted to a special baccalaureate program (SEEK) at a four-year college of the City of New York. If it is assumed that the TRY trainee sample is representative of the high school dropout population in disadvantaged communities, then the results at TRY strongly support the expansion of the SEEK program to enable disadvantaged youth to attend college, and the addition of High School Equivalency Diploma preparation programs in the various projects for high school dropouts.

At the other extreme in terms of level of ability are those who stand in the lowest one-third of the dropout population. They generally may be characterized as having reading and mathematical skills at the 4th grade level or below, and as having I.Q's of 85 or below on the measures of non-verbal intelligence which was administered. The outcomes for the TRY sample (Table 4-47) show that this low group is well represented among those placed in training-related jobs. In fact, they represent a higher proportion of such placements than their proportion in the overall TRY sample. The recommendation with regard to the lowest ability level group is that a broader range of vocational training and basic skills training materials suited to its level of skills should be developed.

It becomes increasingly important that new materials respond and correspond to the needs of the dropout population. The materials must be sensitive to the negative predisposition toward learning and the "failure" syndrome, characteristic of dropouts. They must offer a quick grasp of subject matter, include demonstration and action techniques, and be graded to promote a sense of personal competence and self-confidence as early as possible.

Programmed instructional materials are one of the major types needed for disadvantaged youth. An excellent example of such materials was developed in the YMCA Youth and Work Project (OMAT No. 24-64) in the areas of auto mechanics, shop, mathematics, and reading.

The other major dimension has to do with the diversity of training programs available to disadvantaged youth. The TRY project offered one of the most broad, multi-dimensional, vocational training programs available to youth under one roof anywhere in the country, yet it was too narrow. Utilizing the Interest Test results and the placement data as a basis, it is recommended that the range of vocational training programs be expanded to include such major areas as Sales Occupations, which would build on the trainees' previously tested interest, in Interpersonal Work and Business, and also capitalize on what is known in the street as the capacity "to hustle"; Truckdriving, which has good income features and might be appealing to some potential short term dropouts; Office Work Occupations, particularly with an emphasis on the expanding field of reproduction services; and Para-Medical and Para-Social Service Occupations which in all likelihood, will be growing fields.

This report has already stressed the diversity of characteristics which exist within the dropout population. We have presented a means of identifying major sub-groups for whom differing educational programs and counseling techniques might be appropriate. We should stress, however, that there is considerable overlap of the characteristics of these sub-populations and that this overlap is likely to continue even with far more rigorous research. Therefore, it becomes as important with this disadvantaged population as it does with middle-class youth, that opportunities be created which expose them to the full range of occupational possibilities, as a basis for building a stable career pattern. This would allow for a genuine tryout of career models and help overcome the extremely frequent floundering experience which occurs with many disadvantaged youth.

Recommendation For A Study Of The Optimal Length Of Training Programs For Disadvantaged Youth

The experience of the TRY project suggests that trainees who stayed in the project more than ten months tended to become dependent upon the project and to decline in their rate of educational achievement. They sought ways of extending their time in the project to the maximum limit of 18 months. It seems likely that for most dropouts a training program limited to eight months would be just as productive as longer programs. This assumes that the short-term training program is rich in action-learning experiences which requires the trainee to be an active participant in the process, thus moving him away from the usual passive and dependent role within the classroom. Shorter term training programs should have provision for continuing training through evening classes to improve on skills or through a second short term advanced training program. A study of the optimal length of training programs for the various sub-populations of disadvantaged youth is recommended.

Recommendations Regarding The Use Of Psychological Tests

Although the limitations on the uses of psychological tests with disadvantaged youth are numerous (see Introduction to Section C of Chapter Four), with careful use and interpretation on an intra-group basis, results can be helpful in teasing out implications for the refinement of the program. What, of course, is needed are tests specifically designed for, and normed on the disadvantaged. Such tests would be most useful for diagnostic purposes in individual counseling situations and for assigning youth to differentially defined and organized training programs. Until such special tests are developed, it is recommended that existing tests only be used for general program design and development purposes.

Recommendations Concerning Instructional Staff

In the TRY project one of the major experiments was the testout of the Life-Skills Educator role model. The most effective Life-Skills Educators were older, had more training and professional experience in working with disadvantaged youth. While it would be desirable to employ large numbers of persons with these characteristics, they simply do not exist in adequate numbers to meet the need. Therefore, we must consider ways of identifying and training persons missing some of these characteristics, but with potential to handle the complex functions of training disadvantaged youth. We recommend that a variety of approaches be expanded to increase the pool of instructional personnel representative of minority groups. They include: the expansion of programs for completing college; in-service training programs and the development of satellite instructor development programs in youth projects, so that through a variety of planned training and work experiences potential teachers could be groomed and evaluated in the same way professional sport teams groom talent for the major leagues.

It is further recommended that this teacher-counselor role model be tested out in other settings, particularly, Junior High Schools and High Schools with significant numbers of disadvantaged youth.

The TRY project also experimented with the Vocational Instructor role, employing primarily experienced tradesmen with relatively little formal teacher training. As indicated in Chapter Three, these men, with relatively little in-service training, were able to function effectively as instructors. They, therefore, represent a large pool of talent available to the field of education. It is particularly important to note that one of the major motivating factors for this group was the opportunity to enter a second, more meaningful and useful career which built on their first career in a satisfying and complementary way. These men proved to be practical problem-solvers and positive role models for trainees both in terms of career and personal-family roles. It is recommended that the use of this talent pool be expanded in ways similar to that proposed above for Life-Skills Educators. Since not all tradesmen were effective instructors, it is also recommended that further research be carried out to refine selection and training methods for this group of potential instructors.

Recommendation For A Followup Study On Graduates And Dropouts

The TRY Project was founded on the notion that followup studies were essential to program refinement. Due to inadequate funding, it was not possible to carry out such studies. However, it is still possible to complete on experimental study on TRY graduates and dropouts during the year 1969. We recommend a controlled study of statistically significant sized samples of randomly selected graduates and dropouts, to collect data on the changes which have resulted from training and placement, or absence, thereof.

Recommendations With Regard To Dealing With Substance Use In Educational Institutions

In dealing with substance users, and particularly with users of addictive drugs (see Chapters Three, Four and Five), the problems are complex and must be considered in the context of the total educational enterprise. The control plan and the preventative educational plan have to be consistent with each other, and provide for a range of realistic alternatives. In light of the spreading nature of this problem, we recommend that increased emphasis be given to the development and implementation of programs to train community agency personnel in how to deal with the wide variety of substance use problems.

Recommendations Concerning The Size And Scope Of Training Programs For Unemployed Out-Of-School Youth

The problems of the disadvantaged are multi-dimensional, and a variety of programs are necessary to help deal with them. Most crucial, are improvements in the schools and expansion of job opportunities in industry. But, for the forseeable future, we will have a significant population untouched by either of these efforts. They are the unemployed, dropout youth. For at least the next 10 to 20 years we will have significant numbers of youth in disadvantaged neighborhoods dropping out of school. While industry is taking important and needed steps toward employing the disadvantaged, the approach tends to be from the top down, from the older to the younger, from the better to the less well-educated, etc. This leaves hundreds of thousands of youth without hope, except for those training programs which are geared specifically to meet their needs. We recommend expansion of community based training facilities which are co-sponsored by industries and community agencies, and which, in addition to vocational and Life-Skills type training, should provide the variety of elements suggested under "A Comprehensive Strategy" in Chapter One.

With regard to the question of size, only the most general guidelines are possible. For example, the population of the TRY Project area is approximately 400,000. Approximately half of this population is under 25 years of age and, therefore, approximately 40,000 fall in the age range 16-21. If half of this 40,000 is composed of dropout and unemployed youth, this is a significant population which must be dealt with. Until the combined capability of the schools, industry and training projects can meet the needs of a large majority of this population, this problem will remain unsolved. If Bedford-Stuyvesant is taken as a typical disadvantaged community, then it is recommended that comprehensive training programs with an annual capacity for training 500 youth, be set up for every disadvantaged area of 100,000 in population.

RECOMMENDATIONS CONCERNING RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT PROJECT FOR DISADVANTAGED YOUTH

Recommendation For Maximizing The Achievement Of Research And Development Goals And Demonstration-Service Goals

While the most meaningful development and evaluation efforts need the constant reality-testing of a practical situation, the paramount dilemma facing those persons dedicated to solving some of the problems of the disadvantaged through research and development efforts is that service goals frequently are out of phase with, or contradictory to such efforts. The major patterns of relationships between research and development goals and service and demonstration goals for disadvantaged youth have been described by Jones (1966) and Herman and Sadofsky (1966). The next logical step to resolve the problems of goal conflict is to separate these functions organizationally by establishing development and research institutes, probably in an university setting. The institutes would be teamed up with comprehensive training centers, but not organizationally tied to them. Although this idea has been suggested before, the writers are unaware of such a model having been put into practice.

We recommend that several development and research institutes focused on training disadvantaged youth be established on a national basis and be related to parallel comprehensive demonstration training centers located in disadvantaged communities and obligated to test out the products of the development effort as they are ready, and to participate in the evaluation of results. Two or three such centers, building and testing different comprehensive models, should produce signficiant results over a five to ten year period, deemed to be a minimum for such a complex task. Several immediate tasks for these institutes would be the development and test of: differential educational strategies, teacher-counselor role models and the supporting staff training programs necessary to implement them, and evaluation techniques and program data feedback systems to speedup the pace of testing and revising each developmental effort.

The division of functions can greatly reduce cost because a large scale demonstration does not have to be maintained throughout the entire period. The institute should be able to function with a small permanent staff and consultants. The demonstration efforts could be associated with on-going programs and rarely would require more than 100 trainees for testing design proto-types.

Recommendations On Contract Relationships

The type of institute proposed is a long term proposition. To recruit the calibre of talent needed to make it work, requires sound financial support for longer periods of time than is generally allowed under government contracts. A minimum contract of five years is essential to set up the first round of designs and proto-type testouts. A second five year contract, based on experience with the first, will be necessary to maximize the productiveness of the capability developed during the first contract.

Of course, the general problem with long term contracts is loss of some contact by funding agencies with the achievement of progress during the contract period. The writers have had experience with ten or more research and demonstration projects, and we believe there are ways to deal with this problem which are reasonable, and should be satisfactory to all parties to the agreement. The model for this monitoring process builds on the TRY project experience. Essentially, it includes a statement of major objectives for the five year period with yearly action goals specified to achieve the five year goal, critical path charts to show detailed planning six months in advance, and quarterly reviews with senior representatives from the funding agency to review progress and to discuss changes in plans based on the previous quarter's experience.

This approach worked quite well for the program and service aspects of the TRY project, but failed seriously in the research and development area because the research personnel from the funding agencies were not involved in this planning and evaluation process. Their involvement probably would not have overcome the conflict between service and research objectives, but it would have greatly clarified the way in which the problem was resolved. It is recommended that a modified Management By Objectives System be set up which would be flexible enough for a research and development effort and which would also provide a clear "audit trail" of program decisions and changes in plans jointly agreed upon for the funding agency.

Recommendations For Staging Development And Demonstration Programs

The TRY experience, which is similar to that of most large scale research and development efforts, shows that longer periods of time are needed to adequately complete each developmental stage. The TRY timetable established in the contract negotiations, was focused on the achievement of service goals. The pressure of these goals, once established, did not allow the flexibility necessary to complete essential developmental tasks in the areas of curriculum development, research instrumentation and staff training, before large numbers of trainees were admitted to the program.

To overcome this type of problem it is recommended that demonstration projects be staged with sufficient time to develop and install all the essential program, research, staff training and management systems before trainees are admitted. The gradual buildup of trainees in such programs should be based on the achievement of operational adequancy of the demonstration components and the means of evaluating them. The funding agency, the Board of Directors and the staff of the project should be openly committed to this principle before the project begins. To allow for the staging of such research and development implies a commitment to longer term contracts recommended above.

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